

Portugal And Gallicid

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1836

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Sms.' with a flourish.

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PORTUGAL AND GALLICIÁ.

CHAPTER IX.

Assassination of the Professors of Coimbra—Costa—Midnight Adventure—Visconde Sa da Bandeira—Departure of the English Army—Sir William Clinton—Don Miguel.

ABOUT this time there occurred a dreadful event which exhibits in striking colours the fury of the conflicting parties, and the distempered feeling which prevailed. A deputation, consisting of three professors of the University of Coimbra, and two dignitaries of the See attached to that city, were proceeding to Lisbon, for the purpose of congratulating the Infant, when they were stopped by a party of students, who compelled them to leave their carriages, and conducting two of the professors into an adjoining field, shot them. A military detachment was passing by at the critical moment, and hearing the report

of musketry, fortunately arrived in time to save the remaining members of the deputation. It was rumoured that many of the students had assembled on the evening preceding these events, had calmly discussed the offences imputed to the members of the deputation, and had passed sentence of death upon the offenders. Nine of these young assassins, some of whom were the children of very respectable parents, expiated their crime on the scaffold. At Lisbon attempts were made to assassinate a brother of Count Ficalho, and a brother of General Saldanha, and both these nobles were severely wounded.

General Saldanha himself arrived in the Tagus on the 21st of March; his departure from England took place only a few days after the Infant had quitted it, apparently intending to respect the Charter; finding, to his utter astonishment, the Regent engaged in a very hazardous enterprise, and the country involved in all the turmoil of a revolution, he felt at once, that with his acknowledged principles he could not land, without incurring great personal danger, and therefore took the earliest opportunity of secreting himself in a neutral vessel. At this time my friend Major Sa, one of the most talented men in Portugal,

and, by universal admission, one of her most gallant soldiers, was extremely anxious to see the General, under whom he had formerly served in the capacity of Aide-de-camp, and to whom he was much attached. He discovered the ship in which Saldanha was concealed, and asked me whether I would accompany him in his attempt to reach it, a project attended with some hazard, and considerable difficulty, for Saldanha's arrival had alarmed the Government to such a degree, that the most rigorous search had been made for him in various houses, under the belief that he had landed; and bodies of the police patrolled the quays all night to intercept his retreat. Bernardo Sa felt that Saldanha was involved in difficulty and danger, and the knowledge of his critical situation made him anxiously desire to obtain an interview with his old Commander; an interview which more cautious, or less generous spirits, would have as carefully avoided; and which was not sought for the purpose of plotting against the Government in any way. As a stranger, I would not have involved myself in any political intrigues, or have become accessory to any proceedings hostile to the Government; but although there may possibly have been some personal imprudence

on my part, still, in facilitating the object of my generous friend, and in agreeing to accompany him on a visit solely intended, on his part, as a tribute of respect to his former chief, I cannot surely be reproached with having compromised that character of neutrality, which it is the duty of every foreigner to observe in every country, and under every Government which affords him a temporary protection.

General Saldanha had played a very distinguished part in the recent history of Portugal, and, though I was by no means an approver of his general policy, I will not deny that a strong desire to see such a man, under such extraordinary circumstances, in some degree influenced my decision. Situations of intense interest excite intense feelings: the habitual reserve of ordinary life is then involuntarily thrown aside, the usual barriers are broken down by an urgency which overcomes all minor considerations, and the man appears in all his native strength, or weakness. As steel calls forth fire from flint, so the excitement produced by a revolutionary crisis is an unfailing touchstone to extract the essential qualities of the mind, and drag them from their most hidden recesses. An hour spent in observ-

ing, at such a period, the development and play of character, will often afford a deeper insight into the real energies of an individual, or of a people, than years devoted to the investigation of their habits and modes of thought in tranquil times. Perhaps, also, my natural love of enterprise inclined me to second my friend's wishes.

Our resolution taken, it was by no means easy to determine the safest and most practicable mode of carrying our intentions into effect, as we could only proceed to the vessel by night, and were sure to find the guard ranged on the quays at our return, and both passengers and boatmen who landed after dark were subject to a severe examination. At length our plan of operations was arranged. It happened, that on a certain evening I was engaged to meet a large party at dinner on board a British frigate: it was settled that my friend, Bernardo Sa, should engage a couple of boatmen, upon whose good intentions he could in some degree rely, without, however, communicating to them any part of our scheme. He then agreed to call for me at the frigate, whence we proposed to row without loss of time to the vessel which contained Saldanha, and after a brief interview with the General, return to the

quay. When required to state, on landing, whence we came, it was settled that I should reply, as indeed I might with truth, that I had been dining on board the British frigate; and as the English were continually passing and repassing between the ships and the shore, my answer could hardly excite suspicion: moreover, I had been residing on the quay for some months, and was generally known as an Englishman, so that no doubt could exist on that head, and if I led the way with apparent confidence, my friend, enveloped in his mantle, might in all probability pass unnoticed. Even if the worst mischance befell us, and we were suspected and stopped by the guard, the truth of my statement would be corroborated by reference to the party on board the frigate; and as we felt the boatmen would not willingly compromise us, we might rationally hope that our little digression to Saldanha's ship would remain undiscovered.

The appointed evening came, but our measures were disconcerted by one of those untoward circumstances which sometimes derange the best considered schemes. There was a party, a concert I believe, given that night at Lisbon, which began at an hour unusually early, and which my host of the frigate and many of his guests meant to

attend. The party at the frigate, in consequence, broke up immediately after dinner, and as I could not remain on board after the general dispersion without attracting observation, I thought it prudent to retire with the rest of my friends. Bernardo Sa arrived at the appointed hour and found me gone: by this unlucky contretemps our arrangements failed for that evening, and our plan was postponed, but not abandoned.

Early on the following morning I set off for Costa, with my intelligent friend Colonel Lambert. We crossed the water, hired mules, and rode for some miles through an uninteresting country. From the summit of a hill we looked down upon the village of Costa, bearing a strong resemblance to those Arab tents which I have seen studding the African plains, and appearing, in the distance, like mounds of earth raised in a pyramidical form. The Arab tents are made of camels'-hair, but these hovels are apparently composed of broom, and both are conspicuous from the darkness of their colour. Costa is built on the edge of the water; before it is a fine expanse of sand and a bold open sea, and the mountains of Cintra rise nobly in the distance.

By a strange inconsistency, perceptible in many

parts of the Peninsula, the women of Costa were handsomely attired, although their wretched huts were destitute of the common necessities of life; the men were on shore hauling in the nets; some wore bonnets, others hoods resembling cowls, while the rope, girded around their loose and picturesque garments, gave them a monkish appearance, which ill-accorded with the sternness of their countenances and the freedom of their attitudes. The children were laden with muscles, and vociferous for money, and a few pence thrown amongst them produced a terrific decline and fall of their aquatic goods. We lingered on the spot, enjoying the scene, and saw the fishermen haul in a draught of sparkling sardines. At our departure we were somewhat molested by an ancient dame, a worthy soul no doubt, but a little sentimental, and very much intoxicated; she spoke with energy about Don Miguel, and seemed so much inclined to associate us in her political harangues, that we had some difficulty in avoiding the dangerous theme. We reached Lisbon before dark.

In the evening Bernardo called at my lodgings, and told me that he had made the necessary preparations for carrying our scheme into execution,

without further delay. As I had no longer any particular engagement at the frigate, we had not the same facilities as before, but we, however, determined to proceed upon the same plan. We left the house at nine o'clock, and stepping into the boat then lying under the quay, rowed to the frigate, where we remained a few minutes, and then re-embarking, ordered the watermen to steer us to the shore. When, however, mid-way between the ship and the shore, we suddenly pretended to recollect an engagement, and desired them to change their course and row us to the vessel which we well knew contained the General; that vessel was at a greater distance from the Lisbon quay than we had at first supposed, lying far down the river, which is here almost an arm of the sea, indeed nearly as far as Belém. It was a night of extreme beauty; there was not a cloud in the sky, not a breath on the face of the deep; the moon alone was to be seen in heaven, and was beautifully imaged in the water below; the banks, studded with towers and palaces intermingled with gardens and ancient walls, were reposing in the silver light; and the deep black shade they cast upon the water immediately beneath was separated by a defined line from the

radiant surface beyond. Protected in some degree from observation by the bank, we glided down the stream among the vessels of various nations, and admired their tall masts resting against the deep-blue sky, and their beauteous tracery of spars, so light and delicate, yet so distinctly visible by the light of the moon; occasionally we passed a mighty frigate, at once the guardian and emblem of British greatness, standing apart from the naval host in solitary grandeur, and casting its gigantic shadows across the water.

At length we reached the vessel which contained Saldanha, and saw that great precautions had been taken to prevent the possibility of a successful attack. Some minutes elapsed before any reply was made to our reiterated calls, but at last a man appeared on the deck. Bernardo then rose, and said that he had formerly served under the General as Aide-de-camp, and now desired to see him. The sailor replied, that Saldanha had recently left the ship. We disbelieved this statement, and my friend persevered in his efforts, entreating him at all events to mention his name to the General; but though the man hesitated for a moment, he afterwards repeated

his former statement with increased decision. He had probably received instructions not to admit, upon any account, that the General was actually concealed in the ship.

Baffled in our main object, we became anxious to effect a safe retreat, as the most difficult part of our enterprise was yet to be surmounted. Desiring, therefore, our men to hasten back to the quay, we rowed up the stream for some time without experiencing any interruption, but heard at length the unwelcome sound of a distant challenge; we looked anxiously around and saw a small black speck upon the illumined water, like a mote on the brilliant disk of the sun. For a moment we hoped that an acute sense of danger had rendered us peculiarly alive to every sound, and we trusted that the suspicious object which lay before us, too clear to admit a doubt of its existence, was only a buoy. It lay so motionless, it seemed so little instinct with life, that our hopes became confirmed. While we were yet gazing upon it the call was repeated, and the black speck evidently changed its place; we immediately supposed it to be one of the many Government boats, appointed to intercept communications between

the refugees in the ships and their friends on shore, and especially between Saldanha and his partisans, and as our proceedings could not have borne the test of official inquiry, we felt that every chance of safety depended on instant flight. We urged our men to apply their utmost strength to the oar; they needed no exhortation, for they knew the danger of becoming involved in any questionable enterprise; their broad chests and vigorous arms were not exerted in vain, and we rather flew than glided up the stream. But this precipitate movement was hailed by our crafty observers as a signal to commence the chase, upon which they entered with equal determination and greater power; but our boatmen plied their oars with unabated spirit, and for a few minutes the result seemed doubtful. We looked with intense anxiety upon the object moving towards us; it was no longer a speck, distinguishable only by its darkness from the surrounding waters, but evidently a boat bearing down upon us; we saw her every moment increasing in bulk; we saw the crew that manned her, like shadows first, then bodily and distinct; the quick repeated dashing of the oars came full upon our ears; our pursuers were now

gaining rapidly upon us; the next moment they overtook our boat, commanded us to stop, and we reluctantly obeyed the summons.

To our unspeakable relief, they only proved to be custom-house officers; who, having ascertained that we carried no smuggled goods, departed somewhat incensed at the unnecessary speed to which we had put such good men and true. We rowed on to the quay; as we approached the landing place, we distinguished the military patrol ranged along the shore, and saw their arms glittering in the moonlight; and now the last and most hazardous part of our enterprise was to be achieved. Our plan of operations had been previously arranged, so that our movements had no appearance of hesitation or embarrassment. I led the way up the landing-place; my friend, enveloped in a cloak which concealed his face, followed as an attendant. We were instantly and fiercely challenged by the officer on duty, and I as quickly replied that I was an Englishman, and had been that evening on board the frigate. The frequent occurrence of visits from Englishmen to the British line-of-battle ships, our unembarrassed manner, the confident and almost careless tone in which I an-

swered, my English accent, and probably the recognition of my person, prevented me from experiencing any interruption. I regarded the officer steadfastly, to divert his attention from Bernardo. Attracted by my gaze he returned it with equal earnestness, and kept his eyes so riveted upon me that I doubt whether he even observed my friend. If I mistook not, I perceived a shade of doubt and suspicion on his countenance, as if he wished to detain us, yet felt that such a step would hardly be justified by actual appearances. But we allowed him no time for reflection. As his first impulse did not prompt him to stop us, we passed on with quick but not with hurried steps, and in a few minutes were beyond his reach. So terminated our nocturnal enterprise: "*hæc olim meminisse juvabit*," I observed to my friend as we separated. Had we been arrested by the guard, and the object of our expedition discovered, I, as an Englishman, should only have been subjected to great inconvenience. Bernardo would, however, have been exposed to real danger, but danger, in whatever shape it came, never affected his intrepid mind. He is one of the most humane and honourable men I have ever known. At a later period of

the Revolution he encountered far greater perils, and was placed in more difficult situations, yet throughout those trying scenes he well sustained his previous reputation. When Don Pedro's standard was raised at Oporto, in 1828, he escaped from Lisbon and joined Count Villa Flor's army in the north of Portugal; he marched with the troops to Coimbra, and never deserted them during their disastrous retreat into Spain; and when the failure of the insurrection became complete, he embarked for Terceira the last stronghold of the Imperial cause. The vessel in which he sailed was, however, captured by a Miguelist sloop-of-war, and the most rigorous search was made for the scattered adherents of the Charter. During this examination he remained under a heap of cinders, which seemed incapable of affording effectual shelter to any living creature. The Miguelists, however, pierced the heap in various places with long sticks to remove all doubt, but missed him every time, and departed without any suspicion of the truth. Had he been taken prisoner at that time, he would probably have suffered, as his extreme activity in Don Pedro's cause had rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the government of that day. Since

that period he has given proof of great military talent; he has risen to high distinction, has been made a Peer, and is now a member of the Portuguese Cabinet.

The British army had received final instructions to return, and the 1st of April was the last day on which they continued to occupy any part of the Portuguese territory. My friends Colonel Lambert and Captain St. Clair spent their last evening with me. The first I met a few months afterwards in England, the last I never saw again. Captain St. Clair had virtues which endeared him to his friends, he had all the spirit of his own gallant profession, and abilities which might have reflected credit "on the lordly line of high St. Clair." But fate had otherwise decreed, and he died soon after his return, lamented by his brother-officers. On the following morning I went to head-quarters, and found the General preparing to quit the Palace. Sir William Clinton had entirely won the affections of the Portuguese. His sway had been so firmly yet so gently administered, authority had been so tempered with kindness, the foreign Chief had so completely merged in the common Protector; in short, the elements were so mixed in him, that

those, who had hailed the arrival of the British army, lamented his departure as a general misfortune, and those, who hated British interposition, spoke of him with a forbearance and even with a warmth of feeling rarely felt by men towards their political opponents. The separation between the British and their Portuguese allies was truly affecting. Our officers had awaited their recall with extreme impatience, but, when the hour of departure actually arrived, their joy was damped by the doubtful prospects which overhung their foreign friends; men with whom they had long co-operated on equal terms and lived as brothers. They felt that all hope of preferment for their late associates was at an end, and that even their prospects of preserving their rank in the army were hourly diminishing. The Portuguese accompanied our officers to the water's edge, as if they wished to postpone the final farewell to the latest moment, and cling, while it was yet possible, to their only remaining friends; and our officers embarked, not like men returning in high spirits to their native land, but with tears in their eyes, as if retiring from a disastrous campaign.

Bernardo dined with me, and in the evening

we rowed to the Windsor Castle, a line-of-battle ship commanded by Captain King, and under orders to sail for England early on the following morning. I was unacquainted with the Captain, but he received us with civility, and I had the pleasure of again seeing many of my military friends. I went into the General's cabin, and found him still suffering from the effects of his accident and almost worn out with business, for in feeble, as in robust health, he paid the same unremitted attention to his official duties. Having quitted him with regret, I walked the deck with my friends. The air was warm, the sea calm, and as the evening deepened, the firmament became spangled with stars, and the lattices of Lisbon were illuminated by a more earthly but not less beautiful light. As we rowed to the shore, the delicious scent of the orange-flower was wafted over the water, and actually loaded the air with its rich perfume. On the following morning I heard that the vessels appointed to convey the British forces to their several destinations had quitted the harbour with the earliest glimpse of light. A few days afterwards I called at the quarters recently occupied by the Commander-in-Chief, to see a young Portuguese

officer, who had been officially connected with the British army and was still remaining there. All his brother officers had been dismissed from the regiment, and he was only detained in consequence of the General's kind recommendation; but this apparent deference to Sir William's wishes only survived his departure a short time, and before two months had elapsed, this young man was involved in the general expatriation. The shutters were closed when I entered the great saloon, but he opened them and admitted light. His conversation flagged and his spirits seemed depressed, and I could hardly myself resist the melancholy influence of the moment, as I paced the deserted apartments so lately occupied by a brilliant staff and so often cheered by the voice of social mirth.

The departure of the British army created at first among our merchants considerable alarm, which, however, subsided on the following morning, when they found that their throats were in a satisfactory state. The rain fell plentifully about this time, and contributed to cool the apprehensive imaginations of my English brethren. Before I left Lisbon I was presented to the Infant, at the Palace of Ajuda, by Sir Frederick Lamb.

The folding-doors of the audience room were suddenly thrown back, and Don Miguel was seen standing between his sisters under the royal canopy at the extremity of the apartment. He said little, but his manner was gentle, and the gloom which darkened his countenance on that inauspicious morning when he vowed—a fruitless vow!—to defend the Charter, was replaced by a placid and good-humoured expression. In the evening I called with my friend Bernardo on the Marchesa D'Alorna, grandmother of the Marquis of Fronteira. She had been driven from Portugal by the French invasion, and had fondly hoped, on her return after the general peace, to close her eyes in her native land, amid those who were nearest and dearest to her. But those ties, she said, were rent asunder, her kindred were again scattered over the face of the earth, and the evening of her life was desolate.

I had long intended to explore the southern provinces of Portugal, and most particularly those parts where a British foot “had ne’er, or rarely, been.” My English friends were on the ocean; my Portuguese, in exile. Bernardo alone remained; but the increasing dangers of the time compelled him at length to take refuge on board

an English frigate, and I became a solitary being amid the populous city of Lisbon. Lisbon had, therefore, no longer any attractions for me; her deserted palaces only revived mournful recollections, and I determined to commence my journey without delay.

CHAPTER X.

Leave Lisbon—Moita—Luxuriant Vegetation—Setuval—Revolutionary Proceedings—~~Arzobispo~~ Convent—Melides—Simplicity of the People—Santiago—The Capitan^e Mor—Want of Communication—Villa Nova—Sierra di Monchique—Beauty of a Portuguese Heath—Senhor Joaquim, (Corregidor of Lagos): his kindness and hospitality.

CONTRARY to the advice of my friend, Mr. Forbes, who was well-acquainted with the character of the people and of the country, and read the signs of the times, I crossed the Tagus early in the morning, and reached Moita in about two hours. The only object of interest in our passage was a sand-bank washed by a current at times extremely strong, and called the Cabeza de los Españoles, because a boat full of Spaniards was lost there a few years before. The banks, in the immediate vicinity of Moita, are low and sedgy, but a little farther on the mountain range of Palmella rose boldly before us. At Moita we mounted our horses, but experienced a most vexatious interruption before we had advanced half a mile into the interior of the country.

It appeared that my servant Antonio, greatly

moved for the maintenance of his dignity, having heard at Lisbon that I had hired a horse for my own use, rejected the offer of a safe but humble mule, and insisted upon the loan of a prancing animal; and in this wish he was so happily indulged, that having, with considerable difficulty, effected a lodgment in the saddle, he was ejected from the premises at a moment's notice. In this dilemma I proposed returning to Lisbon, to negotiate matters with the horse-dealer; for I knew that Antonio, under the influence of his recent alarm, would probably return accompanied by some dilapidated creature, unable to totter along the first day's road. I therefore preferred sailing back to Lisbon, inconvenient as it certainly was, to the chance of any protracted delay; so, re-entering the vessel, which I had just congratulated myself on quitting, I lay down in a most implacable mood, my head resting on a hard sack, and my feet refreshed by the wind and rain which were driving fast against us.

In spite of various discomforts, I contrived to sleep, and the weather cleared up before we reached Lisbon, where we arrived rather crest-fallen, after all the pomp and circumstance of our matutine exit. I spent the night at Bento's, and

having provided my dejected 'squire with an appropriate nag, I embarked early on the following morning, and arriving at Moita, continued my journey through a sandy and pine-covered country.

Many flowers were in full bloom; I saw some fine specimens of the tall malmaquiers, growing in beautiful abundance; the stuva, with its elongated and gummy leaf; the pink saragassa, and the arresmiñiño, which covers whole districts and fills the air with such delicious fragrance. The hedges were overrun with luxuriant fern, and with innumerable shrubs then in their loveliest state of vegetation, for the tender light-green tint, which seldom survives the first fortnight of spring in that burning climate, was still resting upon them. Palmella is a fortified town, finely situated on the summit of a hill: here man or horse becoming somnolent, Antonio was quietly transferred from the saddle to the sand, whilst I, unconscious of the deposit then in process, was admiring the first view of Setúbal, and its noble bay, bounded on one side by the Arrabida mountains. The plain is covered with magnificent orange trees, laden with fruit, actually touching the ground. The air, deliciously scented with

the lemon bloom, showed at once the fertility of the soil, and the indolence of the people, who, in other countries, would have collected the flower for the sake of its perfume. The ash, differing in some respects from our British species, was in full leaf; so was the fig; poppies of various colours abounded, and looked bright and gay amid the corn, but proved the defective state of the agriculture.

The chief trade of Setuval consists in the exportation of salt: the inhabitants are said to prepare annually 200,000 tons, of which 90,000 are exported in foreign shipping. The greater part of these 90,000 tons is sent to Ireland, Russia, Sweden, and Finland, and a small quantity is reserved for the use of the English fisheries. The remaining 110,000 tons of salt are partly consumed at Setuval, and partly exported to Oporto, Viana, and other Portuguese towns. The profits arising from the exportation of oranges at Setuval are small: the salt is the staple article. By mutual regulations, British and Portuguese ships are, or at least were, entitled to the same indulgences in their respective ports; but as the trade was principally carried on in English

bottoms, the advantages preponderated greatly on our side.

On my arrival at Setuval I stopped at a house kept by an English Catholic; an enlightened man possessing an extent of information far beyond his station in life. In the evening he accompanied me to a plot of ground just out of the town, where a large concourse of people was expected to assemble that very night. The agitation which then prevailed among the inhabitants was extreme. Enthusiastically attached to Don Miguel, and implicitly guided by the priesthood, they regarded the Charter with utter abhorrence; and recent events at Lisbon had inflamed their minds to such a degree, that only a few days before my arrival the citizens had collected in large bodies and attacked the troops stationed in the town. The Caçadores, devoted to the Imperial cause, immediately fired upon their assailants, and a considerable loss of life ensued; but the popular feeling was so strong, and the Authorities were so unanimous in supporting the Miguelist party, that the troops were obliged to leave the town, and were replaced by a regiment principally composed of the inhabit-

ants, and fully participating in their political sentiments. The only check on the zeal of the Miguelists was thus for the first time removed, and the Imperialists looked forward with alarm to the result of a meeting convened by their avowed enemies and held during the hours of darkness. The numerous confessions made during that particular season, for we were then in Lent, tended greatly to augment their apprehensions, as the priests thus obtained increased opportunities of secretly but deeply instilling into the popular mind their rooted, and not altogether unjustifiable, hatred of the Constitutionalists."

As I walked with my host towards the scene of action, he endeavoured to dissuade me from prosecuting my journey into Alentejo, a district never very safe for travellers, but at that time peculiarly dangerous from the great political excitement which prevailed. He told me of an alarming incident that had once befallen him in travelling through a wild and uncultivated part of that province. He put up one evening at a lonely inn, where he found the kitchen table surrounded by a party of ill-looking men, whom he soon recognised as confederated robbers, by their

appearance and manner, by the general style of their conversation, and still more by the peculiar connexion which seemed to exist between them and the master of the house. Shortly afterwards a gentleman stopped at the inn, accompanied by his servant and mounted on a fine horse, whose handsome accoutrements bespoke the rank of his owner. In the course of the evening, my informant observed his host take up a pair of pistols belonging to the stranger and extract the bullets. Confirmed in his worst suspicions, he cautiously left the room and lost no time in effecting his escape, and he assured me, that he had afterwards reason to believe, that both the gentleman and his servant perished in that den of villains.

Engrossed in conversation we unconsciously approached the chapel at the extremity of the green, before which an enormous concourse of people were assembled. Night had long set in, but we saw by the glare of the lamps the crowd collected most densely around a regimental band, which was playing with amazing spirit the Ultra-Royalist hymn; but even this favourite tune was often drowned by the deafening shouts of

“Miguel the First, the Absolute, the most Absolute King! and death to the Malleardos*, death to the infamous Constitutionalists!” It was evident that the designs of the Miguelists in promoting this meeting had been crowned with success. The popular enthusiasm was at its height, and characterized by such extreme ferocity that I could not behold it without awe, or hear the deadly imprecations heaped upon the Constitutionalists without feeling that a terrible hour of vengeance was at hand. I have mingled much in revolutionary scenes, but never before or since, not even at Evora during the heat of civil conflict, have I seen the human face distorted by such a variety of horrible passions: passions cradled in fanaticism, nursed in silence and in gloom, but now roused to madness, and ready to break down every barrier opposed to their gra-

* The Constitutionalists were about this time contemptuously called the Malleardos, or Spotted Ones, in consequence of an accident that befel Don Miguel, and is illustrative of the quick fancy and readiness of the people by whom it was applied. He was driving an open carriage drawn by two spotted horses, which ran away with him with so much vehemence as to endanger his safety. The people, who were generally attached to Don Miguel, immediately applied the term Malleardos to the Constitutionalists, thereby intending to express their belief that, in one respect at least, they resembled the spotted horses, being equally disposed to run away with the car of the state, and to compromise the safety of their Prince.

tification. Every passing occurrence ministered to their hate, and furnished matter for hateful illustration: if a rocket went up ill, the people called it a Constitutionalist, a declaration received with yells expressive of the utmost detestation and contempt; if it rose well, they cried out that even thus should their knives be sent into the hearts of the accursed Freemasons; and then they expressed fervent wishes that their traitorous heads were burning in the wheel of the rocket. In short, among that assembled multitude all seemed alike transported by one common love for the Infant, by one common hatred to his opponents, and by one pervading sentiment of unlimited and almost phrenzied devotion to the Church. They were inflamed by music and the spirit-stirring hymn; by wine, which gave an appalling character of desperation to their gestures; and by religious zealots, who whispered, in each pause of the storm, that every blow they struck was struck for God. It is difficult to describe the effect produced at intervals by the sudden glare of the fireworks dispersing the gloom and lighting up, though but for an instant, their stern and excited countenances. Those momentary gleams showed each man his neighbour's

passion, and strengthened his own from a sense of the general sympathy; so that every moment their expressions of vengeance became fiercer, and their shouts more vehement and unintermitted.

At length they raised the cry of "Death to the English!" My host had long before urged me to quit the scene, but the deep interest with which I viewed these tumultuary proceedings fixed me spell-bound to the spot. Had my British origin been discovered, my situation might have been very unpleasant, but the same dark face, which in Spain convinced the authorities that I was a native outlaw, effectually shielded me at Setuval from the suspicion of being an Englishman; still my foreign accent might have betrayed me had I been compelled to speak, and I felt on many grounds the necessity of retiring, for the people were ripe for violence; and their leaders, seeing that the time for action had arrived, bade the music cease. The crowd, that had been long pent up, chafing like a mighty stream within a narrow channel, now overflowed on all sides, bearing down on Setuval to carry their revolutionary intentions into effect. In trying to disengage myself from the turmoil, I observed that I was often recognised as a stranger, though not

as an Englishman. Many fierce inquiring glances were bent upon me, many persons seemed inclined to stop me, and were only prevented by the hurried movements of the multitude, which pressed on, rank after rank, like the waves of the sea; once, indeed, a savage looking fellow, rendered still more fierce by intoxication, seized me by the coat, and, declaring that I was a Freemason, desired me to shout for the Absolute King. My actual position was not agreeable, for my host had warned me that although I might pass through the crowd unmolested, still if a mere urchin raised the cry of Freemason against me, the people, in their irritated state, might fall upon me, as a pack obeys a single hound; no well-known Constitutionalist would that night, he assured me, trust himself on that plot of ground for all the treasures of the British exchequer; but the danger, if real, was but momentary, for, disordered by wine and forced onwards by the irresistible pressure of the crowd, my assailant lost his hold before I had time to reply. Extricating myself from the crowd I took refuge in a knoll of trees behind the chapel, where I saw groups of men careering around with shouts and gesticulations absolutely do-

moniac, and rather resembling enraged wild beasts than rational beings; and still as I made the best of my way to the inn by a circuitous path, I heard the loud beat of the drum and the infuriated cries of the people, as they rushed to attack the dwellings of the Constitutionalists, who were, however, generally speaking, prepared for the tempest, and had fled from their houses some hours before the rising of the gale.

On the following morning I heard that great outrages had been committed during the preceding night; that the people were undisputed masters of the town, and Don Miguel had been proclaimed King by universal acclamation. I had observed that a large proportion of the rioters consisted of fishermen, whose picturesque dress, dark-tangled locks, and weather-beaten visages heightened the wildness of the scene.

It is a singular fact, that although these men had derived greater and more immediate advantages from the operation of the Charter than any other class, they were perhaps the most opposed to its continuance. The fishermen of Setuval were required to pay 30 per cent. to the religious establishments before the revolution of 1820, but in 1828 only contributed 10 per cent.

to their support, and yet they were anxious to revive the abolished rights of the Church, and were almost to a man prepared to die in its defence; a fact honourable to them, showing in strong colours the immense power of that church, and the folly of attempting to overthrow, by direct hostility, a system built on prejudices which defy calculation, and which, in Portugal, are too strongly impressed on the public mind to be eradicated by those arguments of mere self-interest which generally influence the conduct of men.

During the extraordinary scene of which I had been a silent but deeply interested spectator, it was evident that the strong attachment manifested by the people on that night to the Church and to the ruling Prince was combined with feelings of bitter resentment towards the supporters of the Charter. That resentment was not, however, justified by the conduct of the Constitutional party of that day, but the oppressive policy pursued by the Cortes of 1820 was still fresh in the memory of the people, and was not unnaturally, though it was at that time unfairly, visited upon the adherents of Don Pedro's Charter; but since that Monarch's final triumph, since my journey

through Portugal, it must be admitted, that in violence and ill-treatment of the Church his Ministers have fully equalled, if not exceeded, their democratic predecessors. While they alienated the peasantry by their hasty suppression of the convents, by the same act they extensively indisposed the landed gentry of the kingdom, for almost every family of note in Portugal had some members attached to the monasteries and interested in their preservation; all these have grievously suffered, and many of them have been reduced to actual penury, by the harshness and injustice with which those ancient establishments were suppressed.

If there be yet in store for the Miguelists a day of power and retribution, I shall not envy any inhabitant of Setuval the distinction of Constitutionalist when the counter-revolutionary storm breaks out.

I have often observed with interest the rapid transition by which the popular mind, in southern countries, passes from violent action to profound repose. On the morning after the revolution the people had resumed their ordinary avocations; the town exhibited a tranquil aspect, and I had some difficulty in conceiving that it could have

been so recently the theatre of such a fearful disturbance. However, for a long time afterwards, the Constitutionals did not venture to pass the night in their own houses, for they were acquainted with the volcanic nature of their countrymen, and during the late eventful times had not been wholly unaccustomed to those sudden storms.

I set off at an early hour on a fine morning to see the Arrabida convent, accompanied by the Consul's son, a young Portuguese of lively and agreeable manners: we chose the Aceitao track, and rode among hills fragrant with lavender and rosemary, and finely clothed with olive, pine, and cork, through plains glittering with flowers of various hues, and between hedges composed of aloes. The aloe-flower is white as snow, and highly ornamental, but like the silver locks of age it is the blossom of the grave: for the plant lives many years, but only blooms once, and dies immediately afterwards.

We ascended a steep hill, and from the summit enjoyed a fine though distant view of Lisbon, and the broad Tagus; riding on we looked down upon the blue bay of Setuval, and the long line of the Alentejo coast stretching to Sines. Pass-

ing some chapels, rising above each other embosomed in wood, we reached the convent, and, entering a grotto, descended into the famous cavern, which is spacious, supported by two great natural pillars and washed by the ocean. The water was that morning of a deep green colour, and so clear that we could count the pebbles lying many feet below the surface; but though so calm, the echo of the wave resounding through the hollow vault was very impressive. The convent is inhabited by indigent monks of the Franciscan order possessing no great extent of land, and receiving alms from strangers. Their internal regulations were very strict; they were forbidden to eat meat at any time, and enjoined to sleep in the heart of winter with the most scanty covering: before we left the convent they showed us the scourges with which they lashed themselves, and heavy stones which they hung round their necks as a penance. The garden terrace commands a fine view of mountains, sometimes terminating abruptly in precipitous crags, sometimes covered to the water's edge with wood; amongst which are found the quercus Australis, the maple, the strawberry tree, and the carob, or St. John's bread-tree.

The Serra da Arrabida principally consists of grey limestone, and there is much of a kind of coarse flint breccia in the neighbourhood. The Fathers asked us to spend the night at the convent, but we were anxious to return, so taking a guide we entered upon a track little used by horsemen. For the first few miles it was narrow and not very safe, for a false step would have precipitated us, from a stupendous height, into the sea below. As we approached Setuval the road improved, but my horse fell with me and bruised me slightly. During this expedition I had observed many curious plants. The *cistus ladaniferus* grew high, and covered the fields with its white blossoms, intermixed with the dark yellow-streaked *cistus*, which I believe to be the *Libanotis*. That lovely weed the *anagallis cærulea*, which rivals the blue heaven itself in the depth and beauty of its colouring, grew side by side with the *cardon*, and under the shade of the fragrant *lavandula multifida*, known to the peasantry by the harmonious appellation of *rosmeñino*.

I rode with the Consul's son to inspect the salt-ponds, which are situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea. They become filled

when the tide flows in, and when it goes out, the sluices prevent the water from retiring; as the water evaporates, a thick crust of salt is formed, but this process is only carried on during the hottest months of the year. The day was falling, and we rode back in haste, as the rioters were generally abroad* towards dusk.

Having spent some days at Setuval I took leave of the Consul, and received the kind adieus of my landlady and her pretty children, whose light blue eyes and flaxen hair announced their northern extraction, and formed a pleasing contrast to the dark visages and sinister expression of that fiery race among whom their lot was cast. Her husband, mine host, whom I have already mentioned, asserted equality by a vigorous shake of the hand; honest and right-minded, fond of books, and capable of appreciating them, his life seemed to have fluctuated, under the influence of changing circumstances, between a higher and an inferior grade of society.

Embarking at Setuval I landed, after a passage of three hours, at a point on the coast about a league distant from Comporta. Continuing my journey through a desolate country, I wound along the base of a high sand-hill, which formed the most glittering object in the distance, being

entirely destitute of vegetation, except in a few places where it was dotted with occasional tufts of lavender. It was often difficult to maintain our footing, as the hill rose almost perpendicularly from the plain, which was, in many parts, completely under water. A large species of the aquatic lily covered large stagnant pools, and the yellow iris grew luxuriantly on the sedgy banks, but as we advanced the soil became firmer, and was overrun with laurestinus, arbutus, juniper, arbor vitæ, and cedar. I saw the passion flower, and the trevisco, and occasionally a beautiful plant, sometimes mistaken by travellers for yellow heath, and indeed I only discovered on inspection that, in spite of its general resemblance to the ericas, it could not be classed among any varieties of that tribe.

I arrived late in the day at Fontigna, a village consisting of a few houses only, but adorned with smiling gardens, and beautiful from its contrast with the adjacent waste. Fontigna is remarkable for a very primitive state of manners prevalent among its inhabitants, which invested them with a peculiar interest in my eyes; secluded from the world by the surrounding wilderness, and ardently attached to their native place, they rarely stray beyond its precincts; their joys,*

their sorrows, the recollections of their childhood, the hopes of their manhood, all centre in that cherished spot. Living in a state of mutual amity and kindness worthy of the golden age, selecting their partners from the narrow circle of their little village, they pass on untroubled from the cradle to the tomb, in happy ignorance of the external world.

I rode on to Melides, where I found the Mayor, conspicuous by his new coat and oil-skinned hat, haranguing his inferior friends. Having bowed to authority in the shape of his Worship I adjourned to the inn, where I was overwhelmed with questions touching my journey by the simple inhabitants, who seemed lost in astonishment at the sight of a well-clad gentleman, as the privilege of wearing decent attire had hitherto been supposed to vest exclusively in the Mayor. An old woman, who was both deaf and dumb, happening to see my silver canteen testified the utmost admiration by raising her hands and uplifting her eyes. I was surprised at the readiness with which by-standers communicated complex ideas to her mind, and admired the emphatic gestures by which she made her own meaning understood. A young man intimated

to her that I came from England, not from Spain; wishing to ascertain the fact, she approached me, raised one hand in the direction of the east; then, quickly withdrawing it, stretched both forth in the wildest manner towards the sea, wringing them and holding them extended for a minute, as if to say, you come not from Spain but from a land far far beyond the Western Ocean. Soon afterwards a Neapolitan drew near the fire; he had all the liveliness of his countrymen, and talked fluently enough, though I did not altogether like the general tenor of his observations, which ran too much on robbers and their exploits. Such themes were certainly not inappropriate in Alentejo, but I have remarked that villains, in his rank of life, often lead the conversation to subjects connected with their own vocation, partly to remove suspicion from themselves, partly to extract information, and, perhaps, in some degree from that vague and restless feeling which sometimes prompts men

“to unload the breast,
Even when discovery's pain.”

His father's house was situated on the borders of Calabria, and his provincial hatred of the Ca-

labrians showed itself in the energy of his abuse. Happening to admire a flower worn by a young girl, she brought a basketful into my room; I gave her a trifle, which produced a second supply with a promise of a third. I then assured her that the flowers only retained their beauty whilst carried in her bosom. The observation pleased her, but had not the effect of preventing a general invasion of my apartment by her young companions, who arrived with garlands in profusion, and proceeded to investigate my goods and chattels with the utmost delight and amazement. The offspring of the poor are pretty throughout the south of Portugal, and are generally distinguished—a melancholy distinction!—by a look of premature care, peculiar in that country to the children of poverty.

As I retired to rest the old woman entered my room and pointed towards the window with an energy of manner, that in any female of minor gesticulation I should have supposed intended to warn me of approaching danger. If such was the motive of her visit, her hint was certainly not lost upon me, for, recollecting the admiration excited by my canteen, and not wholly oblivious of my Neapolitan friend, I fortified my apart-

ment with especial care. However inviting my goods might be to others, my room had certainly no attractions for me : there was neither floor nor pavement, consequently my bed rested on the damp earth ; the roof was rotten and full of apertures, through which the sky was visible and the rain fell in a lively stream.* This utter want of accommodation, combined with a host of vermin, ravenous in the consumption of a well-fed Englishman, effectually disturbed my repose without the assistance of any human assailants.

On the following morning, as we approached the village of Santiago, we passed by a large mansion, from which issued a wild kind of being who proved to be the Capitan Mor ; addressing me with a courtesy remarkable in a man of such uncouth exterior, he entreated me to alight and partake of all the hospitality his house could afford. Having declined his offer I stopped at Santiago, where I drank in, with stunned and afflicted ears, the lugubrious wailing of infants issuing from every quarter of the compass. There I devoured in a barn some eggs, and bread soaked in water, the only breakfast I could obtain ; for breakfasts in this part of the world are deficient in quantity, and in quality not very conducive

to the maintenance of man: dinners were often a total blank in the record of daily events. Men shook their heads when I said that I was travelling through that wretched country solely for my personal amusement, for I did not venture to confess that the political excitement then prevailing was my chief inducement.

After sundry expostulations with man and beast, with man that was rapacious in the shape of an innkeeper, and beast that was obstreperous in the form of a mule, I quitted Santiago, having first explored the remains of a fine Moorish castle. We then entered a defile that led through mountains entirely covered with gum cistus many feet in height. It was cut down in several places and lay in heaps, which the farmers intended to burn during the ensuing August, esteeming the ashes good manure. The cistus populifolius was occasionally to be seen, but the ladaniferus is the prevailing growth. The foxglove was abundant, and a beautiful but lowly flower of a pink colour, called *rosella* by the natives, often attracted my notice. The wild olive and the *quercus coccifera* were intermingled with cork trees, almost as huge as forest oaks, and covered by those young shoots which give them

during the spring the beauty and freshness of deciduous trees. I observed some plots of ground well tilled, upon which the corn appeared to thrive, and as there seemed little difference in the nature of the adjacent soil, I have no doubt that here the absence of a more extended cultivation is less attributable to the poverty of the soil than to other causes. The want of water and want of hands in Alentejo depress the agricultural interest, and prevent the farmer from raising corn at a price which bears any competition with that which is imported. The first Cortes increased the duty on the admission of foreign corn into the kingdom, a measure highly popular in Alentejo, and, perhaps, the chief cause of the constitutional feeling that was displayed so strongly in parts of that province. The importation of Spanish corn, smuggled across the frontier into Portugal, is, however, so considerable that no regulations established for the purpose of improving the state of agriculture in Portugal could have any great or permanent result, unless combined with measures tending to promote an extension of the home market; an object which Government might very much effect by opening roads and canals, and thus facilitating the in-

tercourse between parts of the kingdom now absolutely unconnected. The material difference which frequently exists in the price of commodities, at places but a few miles distant from each other, and sometimes only divided by a hill or a stream, is a striking proof of the extreme inconvenience arising from the want of proper communications.

In passing through a thicket ~~near~~ Calcar my horse made a dead halt, exhibiting unequivocal signs of alarm; this pause was followed by a loud rustling among the leaves, and immediately afterwards my muleteer cried out that a wild boar had passed by him into the most tangled part of the covert. As we approached Villa Nova, over a dreary waste of sand and heath, I saw some coveys of red-legged partridges, several bustards and curlews, and a cloud of gulls. The sea was always in my childhood an inexpressible source of pleasure to me, and now—when that creative fancy has very much subsided,

“Which out of all the lovely things we see
Extracts emotions beautiful and new,”

and clads them in a brilliant but delusive colouring; even now, the sea revisited after any

absence, however brief, conveys to my mind a sensation of delight which no other object of inanimate nature can awaken; it brings back those fresh and joyous feelings which are constant inmates of the breast during the springtide of life, but which afterwards only return at intervals, "like angel visits, few and far between." This delight in the ocean has never weakened with other impressions, probably because it was imbibed in my earliest years, because it was associated with some of my purest and happiest recollections, and, more than all, because it was instilled into my mind by one early lost, but fondly cherished and deeply lamented; one who loved that element in all its moods, who appreciated natural beauty in all its forms, and whose appreciation was ever just as it was exquisite. These sensations I experienced in their full force when I arrived on the heights above Villa Nova, worn out with fatigue and in but indifferent spirits. The dash of the waves sounded in my ears like the voice of a welcome and a well-known friend, and I rejoiced to see the great Atlantic—a splendid sight!—breaking over low rocks, and crested with foam almost to the horizon, come dashing

against a succession of headlands, struggling and buffeting with the Villa Nova stream, which seemed to pour into its bosom no tributary tide.

On arriving at Villa Nova the Consul accompanied me to the southern side of the harbour. Immediately opposite lay the Terror, bomb frigate, wrecked on this coast during the terrific storm of the 19th of February, and only saved from utter destruction by the skill and coolness of the Captain, and the undaunted spirit of his crew; had they struck a little lower down, no efforts, however strenuous, could have availed them, as the coast is lofty and ironbound. We hired a boat and rowed to the frigate, where Captain Hope led me round the vessel, which was undergoing repairs, and was still in a shattered state. He then showed me the way across a barren sand-hill to the spot where the accident had occurred, and pointed out the marks of recent fires, and of the tents, under which his crew had encamped for nearly two months. I returned to the inn, as the day was closing, and was regaled with an apartment that admitted panoramic views of heaven and earth, through sundry picturesque openings in the roof and wooden walls.

The sun shone brightly as I left Villa Nova early on the following morning, but was overcast before I had gained the heights above the town. The clouds seemed pregnant with mischief, as they rolled heavily from the west, and gave the altered scene a sad but just resemblance to the darkened prospects of the kingdom; the national landscape, as bright two months before, was then, as suddenly, enveloped in doubt and gloom. There was no inn at Port St. Antoine, but we stopped at a wretched hut, inhabited by an old woman and her daughters, who could only give us bread and water,—a poor repast for famished travellers. The youngest girl, Maria di Carmo, was extremely pretty: observing me gather a white flower from the hedge, she eagerly snatched it from my hand, and supplied its place by a rose, for, according to the superstition of the district, that white flower only grows above the dead, and borrows its rank luxuriance from the grave. As I was sitting in the hut, the peasants, unaccustomed to the visits of inquisitive Englishmen, crowded in to see the wild beast.

There was little variation in the character of the scenery till we reached the famous Sierra di Monchique, a mountain-range constituting the

northern barrier of Algarve. For many miles before we approached it the country was extremely desolate: for hours together we neither saw any villages, nor even passed a single hut: the few peasants whom we met seemed both astonished and terrified by the appearance of a traveller. Boys and women fled as we drew near, and, when they had not sufficient time to escape, testified the utmost alarm; even the men retreated, when they descried us at a distance.

These retrograde movements were highly inconvenient, as we depended upon casual information for the right direction of our course across those wild, and often trackless wastes. More than once I rode towards some of the peasantry, to make the necessary inquiries, but each in turn invariably fled as I advanced; and when I pressed the pursuit, till I had arrived within a few feet of my fugitive, he suddenly vanished, sinking into the gum-cistus, where he lay effectually concealed from my view. In vain I perambulated the place, and shouted; I could not discover the foolish fellow among those high bushes, and neither prayers nor menaces could draw him from his hiding place. Disappearing in this ridiculous manner, one after another, they reminded me of

birds, occasionally lost in a furze brake, and not recovered after a most diligent search, though the sportsman has seen them fall.

We now commenced the long and arduous ascent of the Monchique range, and following for many hours a path that wound up the steep in a zigzag direction, arrived, as the sun was setting, at a village prettily situated among groups of chestnuts; the air was, however, keen even at that time of year, from the immense elevation of the place. The people were simple, honest, and good-humoured, but could not give me any dinner, and had some difficulty in supplying me with a bed. From a neighbouring convent tower I gazed on the magnificent mountains which surrounded me; turning towards the north, my eye ran over the dark wastes of Alentejo stretching into endless distance, while far beneath me lay the rich and flourishing Algarve, bounded by the sea. The kingdom of Algarve is long and narrow, and its breadth appeared inconsiderable indeed in that extensive view.

On the following morning we continued our journey, and wound along the edge of a precipice. We were now in spring, the most delightful season of the Portuguese year. To the lover of

natural beauty, a Portuguese heath is, at that time, a scene of indescribable interest; at least, in those happy spots, where the peculiarly favourable nature of the soil permits the development of its varied treasures. Through such a scene we passed: the earth was then clad in its richest apparel; besides the rosemary, the juniper, the myrtle, the lavender, and, a thousand bulbous plants disclosing their thousand beauties, the *ericas-umbellata* and *australis*, with their brilliant and deep-red blossoms, and the various *cisti*, some yellow, some of a rosy tint, some white as snow, and others streaked with purple, embroidered the plain with their variegated and delightful hues. The very insects, disporting over those beautiful wastes, were marked by the same rich and decided colouring: the deep-blue of the butterfly was not surpassed by its own azure heaven; and the emerald green of some species of the scarabæus tribe seemed fresh from the colouring of their own Almighty artist. In short, a common character of grace and beauty in detail distinguished almost every object of animate and inanimate nature. In gazing on that scene, how strongly did I

feel that the great Author of those natural treasures is not more to be marvelled at in the awful assemblage of worlds which he has placed around us, than in those minute and sometimes almost microscopic glories which he has spread in such harmonious profusion at our feet. But these varied beauties that occasionally charm the eye on a Portuguese heath, and keep alive every faculty of perception, are not, it must be confessed, the distinguishing characteristics of the great wastes of Alentejo.

The granite region, and the limestone strata, so often productive of a beautiful vegetation, are limited in extent; the sandstone and the slate more frequently prevail, and then the traveller may pass, for hours together, through mountain defiles, and over plains; covered, as far as the eye can reach, with the tall and unvarying *cistus-ladaniferus*; and yet the graceful form of this plant, its green glistening leaves, its large white sheepy-looking flowers heavily spotted with purple, meeting the sight in every direction, are not without their influence on the mind. There is a fascination in the gorgeous monotony and unvaried stillness of the scene, in the solemn splen-

dour of the never-clouded sun and sky, and in the heavy and almost enervating fragrance with which that all-prevailing cistus loads the air.

Insensibly affected by these circumstances, the mind, having no scope for active observation, and perhaps pleased to retire for a moment into a world of its own, involuntarily falls into that dreamy state, half pleasing and half melancholy, in which fairy visions arise unbidden, in which the fancy sports while the judgment sleeps, and thoughts chace each other through the half-unconscious brain, without effort, and almost without connexion.

‘ I confess I had fallen into this kind of unprofitable reverie under the lulling influence of the great cistus wastes through which I had been travelling, but a glorious scene of living though inanimate beauty was at hand, springing up like an oasis in the desert, lovely itself, but still more lovely from the force of contrast, affording ample matter for observation and interest, renewing my energies, and, like the sun, at once dispelling every mist from the mind; for now, leaving the sterile soil and the cistus mountain, we entered that glorious valley of Monchique, which, in point of picturesque scenery, is preferred by many of

the Portuguese to Cintra itself. It is indeed eminently beautiful; the vegetation in the valley is most luxuriant, and refreshed by streams of the clearest water: upon their banks the rhododendron grows profusely amid the lotus, the jonquil, and many varieties of the scilla, while the hills above are covered with chesnuts of an immense growth, and orange trees bowed down by the weight of their golden fruit. Upon the whole, Monchique is perhaps inferior to Cintra in the beauty of particular situations, but is free from all the striking defects of that far-famed spot. However, I did not see this lovely valley to its utmost advantage, as the scenery was then deprived of its brightest ornaments, the chesnut woods being only partially in leaf.

On leaving the beautiful valley of Monchique we entered a country, wild and desolate as that through which I had ridden during the few days preceding. The monotony of the cistus plains was indeed occasionally varied by tracts covered with the palmetto, so frequent in parts of the south of Spain. Like a dwarf apeing a giant, it is in some respects a caricature of the great Eastern palm, yet, with its elongated leaves and short wild-looking stem, its appearance was pic-

turesque enough. My destination was Cape St. Vincent, but, my horse knocking up three miles from Lagos, I was obliged to deviate from my route, and halt at a miserable little inn close to that town. Vexed at an accident which threatened to impede my journey, and exhausted by the heat of the sun, I throw myself on my mattress, and was quickly asleep. Roused by admonitory taps on the extreme tips of my toes, I found a lively little animal gesticulating largely and exhorting me to rise; announcing in a loud voice the approach of the Senhor Corregidor, an officer whose duties, in many respects, resemble those attached to the French prefecture, and whose official consideration is fully equal to that enjoyed by the French Prefect. That such an advent should not be duly honoured, that any individual should be found by an inspecting Corregidor in the disrespectful attitude of profound repose, was an outrage on the dignity of office sure to fill the mind of a genuine Portuguese with horror. Believing that this would prove a visit of inquiry into the motives of my journey, terminating in annoyance and perhaps in arrest, I rose, ungraciously enough, but was reassured on finding that he only called to congratulate me on my arrival, and make me

a free tender of his services. I thanked him for his considerate attentions, and he departed accompanied by three servants. I afterwards wandered through the town, which is situated on the southern coast of Algarve, fronting the sea; the population is considerable, though the harbour is indifferent, and the greater part of the houses consist of one story only. Lagos only affords good anchorage for a fleet when the wind blows from the north or west.

Returning to the inn I met the Corregidor, Senhor Joaquim: he urged me to enter his house, and made me partake of tea and refreshment, brought in by a handsome middle-aged woman, who appeared sincerely attached to her master, and occasionally joined in the conversation with the easy freedom of a favourite and indulged servant. The extreme familiarity often existing in Portugal between master and servant is, at first, a matter of surprise to an Englishman. A servant standing behind his master's chair corrects his statements if he consider them erroneous, and not unfrequently makes observations on any question under discussion. A Grandee of the kingdom attempted to combine the dignity of his elevated station with the national habits of

familiarity towards his domestics, by a whimsical mode of proceeding, for he invited them to join the family circle at cards, but required them to remain on one knee, during the whole of the game.

On my return to the inn I found Antonio in a very feverish state, which gave me great uneasiness, as the natives of this district are subject to agues of a dangerous character. I immediately sent for a surgeon, who declared him labouring under a slight attack of that nature, and said that a few days' rest was necessary to restore him. I was, therefore, obliged to postpone for some days my journey to Cape St. Vincent. During this time the kindness and hospitality of the worthy Corregidor knew no bounds; he usually spent the greater part of the day with me, showing me every object of interest, and pressing me to take all my meals at his house, with an earnestness that brooked no refusal. Breakfast was on the table punctually at seven, and consisted of tea and fruit in abundance, a delicious sweetmeat made of milk and eggs, with wine and meat. Dinner was served at twelve o'clock, an hour unusually late in the Algarve, but fixed on, out of complaisance to my English habits. Our fare was always good, but varied little from day to

day, consisting chiefly of soup, beef, garavanzos, chickens under every possible modification of cookery, rice in profusion, fruit, sweetmeats, and excellent wine.

In the south of Portugal, it is considered the duty of a liberal host to press his guest in the warmest manner to continue the repast, even when it is evident that his appetite is completely satisfied. The guest declines, and the host upon that occasion only makes an obeisance, but immediately before the party breaks up, renews his entreaty; the guest again declines, upon which the master rises from table, shrugs up his shoulders, and assumes a look of great regret, as if to say, I have willingly laid before you my best fare; it is indeed indifferent, but you must excuse it, for it is all I have to offer.

Dinner was invariably followed by the siesta, and afterwards tea and coffee were successively handed round; the last and most delightful hours of the day were spent in the open air, and a supper, in all respects resembling dinner, closed the evening.

CHAPTER XI.

Visit to Sagres—Don Henry—Castle of Sagres—Cape St. Vincent—Portuguese Ceremonial—Courtesies to Ladies—St. Vincent's Chair—Villa Obispo—Ludicrous Mistake—Return to Lagos—Juan, the Borderer—Women of Silves—Marquis of Pombal—the "Praso"—Faro—Tavira—Villa Real—Barbarity to Animals—Alcoutim—Revolt at Merola—The Lobishomens—Beja—The Alentejo—Ecclesiastical Enthusiasm.

I HAD been prevented from reaching Cape St. Vincent by the disaster which befell my horse; but I now availed myself of the delay occasioned by Antonio's illness, to visit it before I took my final leave of Lagos. The Corregidor kindly determined to accompany me; so, starting at an early hour, we rode through a wild country, covered with rosemary, heath, and cistus, and over a track full of stones, and in many places scarcely perceptible. The scenery became bold as we approached Sagres, a name dear to every Portuguese who loves his country; for it is closely interwoven with the best and brightest period of the national history. In this retirement Don Henry, that princely benefactor of Portugal, matured his high designs, and from this bay sent

forth well-appointed naval armaments to explore an unknown ocean, fraught with real, and invested with fabulous terrors; committing his fleets to the guidance of leaders whose stedfast courage triumphed over obstacles deemed insurmountable, and whose great discoveries still constitute the most imperishable monument of Portuguese fame.

There is considerable depth of water in the Bay of Sagres, which still affords shelter to vessels, and traces remain of a harbour which might easily be restored by an enterprising government.

The day was closing as we arrived at the Castle of Sagres, boldly placed upon a projecting headland: the sun had just set, enveloped in crimson clouds; the wind was moaning around the mossy towers, and the sea raged at an awful depth below. Under these circumstances, well suited to the scene, I saw, for the first time, the heights of St. Vincent, and looked upon that famous Cape which occupies so large a space in the imagination of childhood. We halted beneath the old pile, and obtaining entrance we proceeded along a narrow passage, cut through the massive walls, into a kitchen of huge dimensions, such as our ancestors used. This apartment opened into an

inner court of the fortress, where Don Joaquim sent a message to the Commandant, requesting the favour of a night's lodging for himself and a friend. Don Alvaro received us graciously, and assured us, according to the hospitable and rather magniloquent style of invitation, common among the Portuguese, that his castle, his houses, his gardens (not a tree, not a bush, not even a plant was to be seen on that bleak spot)—and all that he possessed, were at our complete disposal.

My sleep was that night disturbed by vivid dreams; and I awoke with a violent headache, and evidently, in some degree, affected by the prevailing ague. Restless and in pain, I rose at that early hour when the first faint streaks of light were stealing over the sky, and for a long time paced the battlements that frowned above a roaring ocean. The cliffs are dark and precipitous on all sides, and the isthmus on which the fortress stands has great peculiarities; its surface is covered with masses of rock, and the ground is in many places completely hollow. There is a fearful chasm, exceedingly dark and deep, directly communicating with the sea, which rushes through this subterranean channel with so loud a roar, that I almost thought the isthmus was

in the act of being rent asunder. On placing a piece of heath over the orifice, I observed that it was blown away by the gust of wind produced by the rush of water below. From this, and from other circumstances, I suspect that the ground is in this part wholly undermined; the currents probably force their way from both sides of the isthmus into the narrow chasm, and that astounding roar must arise from the furious conflict produced by the meeting of these two opposing tides. The promontory of St. Vincent is composed of grey limestone, the rocks on all sides appear to have undergone violent convulsions, and the country, as far as the eye can reach, has an aspect of the wildest desolation.

At breakfast Don Alvaro's daughter, a lively young person, appeared, and made her mother's excuses. Soon afterwards we took leave: the forms, prescribed at parting by the old Portuguese ceremonial, were gone through, according to the strictest rules of the national etiquette; high and plenteous thanks were tendered on our part, and, in return, the Commandant made great professions of esteem, and reiterated many solemn excuses for the scanty and unsuitable reception which, he was bound to say, we had experienced.

in his poor Castle of Sagres. I remember a striking instance of the great extent to which mere ceremonial is carried by Portuguese of the old school, and it may not be amiss to relate it, while I am touching on the subject. I called one morning on a high Dignitary of the Church, and ascending a magnificent staircase, passed through a long suite of rooms to the apartment in which the reverend Ecclesiastic was seated. Having concluded my visit I bowed and departed, but turned, according to the invariable custom of the country, when I reached the door, and made another salutation; my host was slowly following me, and returned my inclination by one equally profound; when I arrived at the door of the second apartment, he was standing on the threshold of the first, and the same ceremony again passed between us; when I had gained the third apartment, he was occupying the place I had just left on the second; the same civilities were then renewed, and these polite reciprocalities were continued till I had traversed the whole suite of apartments. At the banisters I made a low and, as I supposed, a final salutation; but no; when I had reached the first landing-place, he was at the top of the stairs; when I

stood on the second landing-place, he had descended to the first; and upon each and all of these occasions our heads wagged with increasing humility. Our journey to the foot of the stairs was at length completed. I had now to pass through a long hall divided by columns, to the front door, at which my carriage was standing. Whenever I reached one of these pillars, I turned and found his Eminence waiting for the expected bow, which he immediately returned, continually progressing, and managing his paces so as to go through his share of the ceremony on the precise spot which had witnessed my last inclination. As I approached the hall door, our mutual salutations were no longer occasional but absolutely perpetual; and ever and anon they still continued, after I had entered my carriage, as the Bishop stood with uncovered head till it was driven away.

As I am here alluding to the manners of the country, I will just state that in Portugal a gentleman never quits an apartment in which there are ladies, without turning round on arriving at the door, although he has already taken leave, to renew his parting salutation to his fair friends, who gracefully return it; and so invariably is this

the practice, that a man disregarding it would be considered as positively deficient in the courtesies of good society, and a lady would feel somewhat disconcerted by the omission of such a customary mark of attention. Habit is so completely second nature, that on returning to England after a considerable residence in Portugal, I could hardly refrain from this practice; and till British customs had again in some degree effaced my foreign impressions, I felt, on seeing our Englishmen quit the drawing-room without this salutation, that kind of uncomfortable sensation which is involuntarily excited in the mind by witnessing a rather coarse neglect of any of the recognised *convenances* of society; so truly conventional are many of those habits which appear interwoven with our very nature, and to be "rather part of us, than ours."

When upon any occasion a Portuguese tenders his arm to a lady he is bound to proffer his left arm, on the chivalrous principle that the heart, the seat of the affections, should be placed as nearly as possible in juxtaposition with the fair being to whom, for the moment at least, the homage of its possessor is due. But I am sadly digressing. Leaving the

Castle of Sagres, and passing by a ruined fort, we rode across a wild and uninhabited country to the monastery which is situated at the extremity of Cape St. Vincent and on the verge of a stupendous precipice; a bleak exposure, for around the summit of that cliff a never-ceasing wind is heard to howl, and a stormy sea is for ever raging at its base. The convent is in a very dilapidated state, and only tenanted by a few monks, who happened to be all absent save one; and certainly in that monastic visage appeared as much of the animal and as little of the intellectual being, as was ever depicted on the human face divine. Yet their fare is very indifferent, for they are far removed from any market, they seldom if ever eat meat, very rarely fish, and can only obtain a moderate supply of vegetables. "*Non minuit præsentia famam*" can be said of few places, but is strictly applicable to Cape St. Vincent; that Cape will not disappoint the most ardent imagination, for the view extends on either side over a coast uniformly bold, and rendered still more picturesque by great masses of rock standing out in the water, and covered with clouds of shrieking sea birds. A few steps behind the monastery is Cape St. Vincent's

Chair, a seat of stone not hewn by the hand of man, and supposed to have been occupied by the Saint himself; and still the Portuguese mariner, sailing along this iron coast, sees through the rolling mists the Saint upon his stormy throne; and fervently beseeches him to guide the ship in safety over his own troubled sea.

From thence we rode on to Villa Obispo, a village some leagues distant from the convent: here a ludicrous mistake occurred. Having accompanied the Corregidor to a house where we dined, I wished to ascertain whether we were then in a private dwelling or apartments hired for the occasion, as in one case I was anxious to contribute my share of the expense, an offer which in the other would have been considered tantamount to an insult. Feeling some delicacy in putting the question to my travelling friend, I inquired of a servant, and desired him to acquaint me with the price of the dinner, but he, it seems, misunderstanding me, approached the Corregidor and, by some strange confusion of ideas, asked him the price of his coat. That worthy officer was much astounded by such an unusual inquiry, and waxed wrathful at this seeming ebullition of plebeian insolence; the

man, alarmed at his displeasure, referred him to me, and an awkward explanation ensued. My worthy friend was appeased not satisfied, his good-humoured countenance assumed a graver aspect during the next hour of our ride, and more than once his eye glanced jealously from his substantial coat to mine, as if he were weighing their respective merits, and pondering upon the occult motive of such an extraordinary question. As we were mounting our horses to quit Villa Obispo, the Abbot of St. Vincent approached us, and was immediately presented to me by the Corregidor. He folded me in a most paternal embrace, and expressed great regret at his absence during my visit at the convent; I extricated myself with all imaginable politeness from the conventual grasp, and making reciprocal protestations took a sorrowful leave of this old and highly-valued friend. Our progress to Lagos was seriously impeded by numerous persons crowding around the Corregidor to pay him their tribute of respect, and by the village magistrates anxious for the honour of a visit. We were joined by a party on horseback as we approached the town. During the last few miles the Corregidor kept up a sprightly conversation.

with a beautiful little girl, who was only nine years old, but had the formed manners and finished wit of a complete woman of the world.

On my return to Lagos I found Antonio slowly recovering, but as yet unable to resume the journey. Besides the physical debility resulting from his late attack, it soon became evident that he was under the influence of extreme fear. The appalling scenes which had taken place during our stay at Setuval had completely extinguished the little valour he naturally possessed, and the dread which was then generally entertained of an impending insurrection increased his reluctance to leave the Algarve and venture at such a time, among the more ferocious population, and into the more unsettled district of Alentejo. He was, however, at length induced to proceed, and I quitted my kind friend the Corregidor with real regret. I respected the generous hospitality which had prompted him to make a perfect stranger the constant inmate of his house, and was not insensible to the high consideration which he, an eminent officer under the Crown, had shown me in performing a journey of sixty miles over a hard and jolting road for the sole purpose of accompanying

ing me in my expedition to the Cape; but such is the spirit and character of Portuguese hospitality. My greatest inconvenience had arisen from Antonio's illness during my stay at Lagos. The landlord of our miserable inn could only place at my disposal a small apartment, which contained my servant's bed and mine; but finding it impossible to sleep in the heated and unwholesome atmosphere of a sick man's room, I generally passed the night on my mattress in the passage, which was rather an uncomfortable and chilling process. Had the Corregidor been apprized of this circumstance he would have forced me to accept a bed at his house, but I knew that it was completely full, and I was unwilling to encroach further on his kindness.

I should inform my readers that, in consequence of Antonio's protracted indisposition, I engaged a young fellow to accompany me to Faro in the capacity of an attendant. His name was Juan, but as he came from that part of the Pyrenees which adjoins the Spanish frontier, he was generally called the Borderer (*hombre di raya*), an appellation well suited to his appearance and manners, which were wild and uncouth as his native mountains. Hearing of Antonio's

situation he came to me and bluntly offered his services; I complied with his request, as he seemed insensible to difficulty and danger, and was likely to facilitate my progress through the disturbed districts. Accordingly, having sent Antonio by the shortest road and easiest conveyance to Faro, I rode with Juan to Ville Nova, which is, perhaps, the best harbour on the Algarve coast; and then, directing my course into the interior, I travelled through a mountainous country to Silves, one of the most ancient towns in Portugal. Placed on the summit of a steep hill, it resembles, at a distance, a city of other days; an impression confirmed on nearer inspection by its massive walls, its overhanging houses, and old-fashioned windows. The women of Silves, and indeed of all the Algarve, are in face and often in figure extremely beautiful: their complexions are pale but clear, their eyes, shaded by long dark lashes, are always fine, and generally distinguished by a soft and pensive expression, which pervades the countenance and even characterizes the smile. Spanish charms dazzle and rivet the beholder; the beauty of the Algarvian, less full of fire but fraught with more

of tenderness, sinks not, however, less deeply in the heart.

Arrived at Silves, I sent my letter of introduction to the Mayor, who received me courteously, and invited me to partake of a repast which was eminently provincial, during which my aversion to particular dishes, and my disinclination to annoy him by refusing the proffered delicacies, were feelings most disagreeably at variance. At length, to my unspeakable relief, I discovered some sausages made of honey, a dish peculiar to Algarve, and these I invaded with great courage, and lauded with perfect sincerity, and devoured with amazing spirit.

His anxiety to hear the most recent news from Lisbon, and the eagerness of his questions, betrayed the intense interest he felt in the momentous changes then in progress. He was evidently an Absolutist in the fullest acceptation of the word, hating moderate men and moderate measures, holding every modification of the representative system in equal aversion, and abhorring liberty, which he designated as only devil's play. He read aloud with sparkling eyes, and in an enthusiastic tone, a copy of verses addressed to

the adherents of the Silveiras, attacking the Chambers, impugning Don Pedro's claims, and speaking of their loved and lawful Sovereign, Don Miguel, in the language of unbounded eulogy.

The Royal Members of the Holy Alliance and King George IV. of England were warmly praised, but as our late gracious Sovereign's name was the concluding word of the song, I cannot say whether his Majesty was commended on his own account, or merely for the sake of the rhyme. Putting his arm into mine with all the cordiality of an old acquaintance, he asked me, as we paced the apartment, whether many of my countrymen were favourable to the establishment of a purely despotic Government. I answered, laughingly, that there were few Englishmen solicitous for the establishment of a system absolutely uncontrolled in their own country. "Well, but you will admit that some of your nation entertain these opinions, and wisdom is only the portion of the few." Saying this gaily he invited me to explore the town.

The walls of Silves have been little injured, the old Saracenic towers are very imposing, and a noble cistern, built by the Moors, is still in good

preservation. The view extends over a finely wooded country. The olive is not pollarded in these districts, as in many parts of Spain, where that practice is adopted to strengthen the oil, and render it more highly flavoured. Some are, however, of opinion that such a mode of treatment only makes it more rancid; but whatever may be the practical effects resulting from that system of managing the olive, it is unquestionably most injurious to the general appearance of the country, which it completely mars, by disfiguring each tree in detail.

From the cathedral, where the Mayor knelt down and prayed devoutly, we adjourned to the town-hall, where the Municipality had been invited to meet me; after mutual presentations and the exchange of mutual civilities, I again mounted my horse, and rode on to Argus where I arrived as the night set in. The inn was wretched enough, cats abounded, and women, of little personal attraction, were scattered about the principal apartment, engaged in the construction of mats made of the palma; an indigenous plant, very green in its natural state, and very white when dried. I here experienced a slight return of fever, accompanied with frequent shivering,

an affection increased by the severity of the night, and the hardness of my couch, which was only a plank of wood.

From Argus I rode to Loulè, and stopped at the house of a Fidalgo, Senhor Sebastiao Alexandre di Gama Lobo, a young man of pleasing manners, and well-informed on subjects connected with his native province. His house was spacious, and the walls were evidently of great antiquity. His gardens were pretty, and extremely productive, for he was said to export annually 500,000 oranges to England. He told me that he had never crossed the boundary of the Algarve; and although his grandfather had performed services which fairly entitled him to remuneration, he had never solicited any favour from the Court. He had, however, just obtained permission from the government to found an entail, for land in Portugal does not descend by right of birth to the eldest son, unless so restricted by a special act.

The Marquis of Pombal perceived the theoretical and perhaps sometimes real inconveniences produced by the perpetual exclusion of large tracts of land from the market, but instead of limiting the duration of entails, which might not have been an injudicious course to pursue, if

indeed any legislation on the subject were expedient in the actual state of Portugal, he unwisely deprived individuals of the power of creating them under any circumstances, without the express permission of the Court; a foolish restraint which in some cases prevents the Portuguese from exercising a just discretion in the disposal of their property, and is, in all, extremely unfavourable to the just maintenance of an aristocratic influence. But it was the policy of that jealous and over-lauded minister not to confine within due limits, but to degrade that order of nobility which, under the guidance of a more sagacious mind, might have become at once the firm supporters of the monarchy, and the temperate guardians of the national freedom.

Pombal certainly possessed abilities, and unquestionably carried into effect some useful reforms, but though more enlightened than the mass of his countrymen, he imagined, a common error of superficial minds, that a liberal policy consists in excess of change. He forgot, that moderation is a proof of strength, and supposed, because preceding ministers had adhered somewhat too blindly to the beaten path, he could not deviate too widely from their track. His public

conduct was not based on any public principle, and he entered into a most unrighteous war against the nobility of his country, not because he thought their privileges incompatible with the well-being of other classes, but from a mean and rancorous jealousy of an order to which he did not naturally belong. I will not here dilate upon the dark and doubtful history of the Aveiro conspiracy, but the sanguinary policy by which, upon that occasion, he triumphed over a portion of his fellow subjects, has left an indelible stigma on his memory.

In alluding to the tenures on which land is held in Portugal, I should add that the Prazo, a species of leasehold property which I have described in a former work, is exempt from the operation of the common law, and descends entire to the eldest son. Land is generally much subdivided in Algarve, and little entailed. Senhor Sebastiao had, however, carried his point, and was in consequence on the eve of uniting himself to a young lady of noble birth. While his servants were preparing dinner, we visited a neighbouring manufactory, where many hands are employed in the process of extracting a kind of weak brandy from the fig, and from the algar-

roba; a fruit much relished in this part of the country by man and beast. We called on the Director of the establishment, and Senhor Sebastiao politely requested permission to show it to a friend. "Your Excellency should command, not request," answered the Director, and immediately conducted us over every part of the manufactory.

In Portugal the presence of a Fidalgo generally smooths down all difficulties: indeed the very word has a magical influence over the minds of men. I have observed, that the provincial nobles are generally kind and considerate to the people, and are often repaid by their affection; they are perhaps too exclusive towards persons a degree beneath them in rank, but even this jealousy of the middling classes is slowly melting away before the spirit of the age. A sumptuous dinner awaited our return, succeeded by a dessert consisting of every fruit in season, an infinite variety of sweetmeats, and an abundance of excellent wines and liqueurs. From Loulè I rode on to Faro, where I found letters from my dear Father and Sister, and was hospitably received by the British Consul. On the following day I dined at his house, where I met a large Portuguese society. We spent the evening in a delightful garden near the town,

where the cavaliers of our party paid compliments to the dark-eyed dames of Faro, who in return presented us with bouquets culled by their own fair hands.

The trade of Faro principally consists of bark and oranges; the greater portion of the fruit, exported from Lagos, is sent to Holland; but an enormous proportion of the cargoes exported from Faro are shipped for England. Antonio had by this time in a great measure recovered from his illness, but with reviving health his fears of mobs and massacres revived, and he now declared that he would not prosecute any further a godless expedition into the interior of the country; in conformity with this declaration, he announced his intention of remaining at Faro until the public tranquillity should be restored.

He was certainly unfit to cope with the difficulties and dangers of the time, and I afterwards regretted that any entreaties on his part should have tempted me to engage him as an attendant on such a doubtful expedition. He remained in the south of Portugal, and reaped the bitter fruits which are generally the portion of timid and indecisive men whose lot is cast in times of peril and alarm. He remained unmolested till

the breaking out of the revolution in favour of Don Miguel, but at that critical period, when the English name was held in execration, he was recognised by the populace as the servant of an English gentleman. He, indeed, escaped their violence, but lived in a state of perpetual terror, subjected to many hardships, concealing himself by day, and never sleeping two successive nights under the same roof. Body and mind sank under the united pressure of physical suffering and mental anxiety; naturally weak, he fell into a deplorable state of health, and though he at length returned to England he never rallied again, but died in a few months. Had he adhered to his Master's fortunes, he would certainly have encountered some rough weather, but would probably have stemmed the gale, and gained the port in safety.

I now engaged the Borderer for the remainder of my expedition, much against the advice of my friends at Faro, who represented to me the inexpediency of trusting to the precarious fidelity of such a man in the lawless state of the districts which I intended to traverse. In consequence of these representations I made inquiries respecting other servants, but found no one disposed to ac-

company me through a country so proverbial for the fierceness of its inhabitants as Alentejo,* at a time when it was evidently on the eve of breaking out into open insurrection. During my stay at Faro, very serious apprehensions were entertained for the tranquillity of the town; the people had already given very obvious indications of angry feeling, and great disturbances were expected on the morning previous to my departure; but the storm blew over for that day, and the explosion did not immediately take place. Feeling the full force of the objections urged against Juan, I adopted a plan which may seem foolish enough to persons unused to travel in disturbed countries, and perforce associate with desperate characters; but my intercourse with both had been pretty considerable during my various rambles, and I felt that it was the only mode by which I could combine my desire of retaining so useful an adventurer with a due regard to my personal safety. I therefore summoned him to my apartment, counted over my money before him, and confided it to his care. I knew from experience that many

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* I have heard it stated that the crimes committed in Alentejo exceed in number those which are perpetrated over all the rest of the kingdom.

of these rough adventurers, who neither respect the lives or properties of others, are yet often scrupulously faithful to a Master who reposes unbounded trust in their honour; on the other hand, I knew the stamp of man too well to suppose, that if he were determined to obtain my money, he would abstain from plunder because he must wade through blood to his object; and I felt that on the dreary wastes over which we intended to travel, and at the lonely places where I must often pass the night, he, assisted by others, would find numerous opportunities of carrying into execution any plan however deadly. But few men commit unnecessary crimes; and should Juan prove a villain, he would probably decamp with my money, if he were suffered to retain possession of it, without attempting my life. I had afterwards some cause to think that my reasoning on this point was not altogether fallacious. So much for the Borderer. Having thus endeavoured to guard against domestic treason, I now took measures of precaution against my foreign foes, the knight errants of the highway, who at that period of civil commotion abounded in Alentejo. I desired Juan to secrete the greatest portion of the gold in a jar of marmalade; we deposited the

remainder in the saddle by means of an incision ingeniously made, and scarcely perceptible on the minutest inspection; keeping in our pockets only a few gold pieces and many silver crowns, as those champions of the public road are always incommoded, and sometimes disagreeably uncourteous, if the bank entirely stops payment.

At Tavira I sent my letter of introduction to Senor Xavier Palmerin, Governor of the Algarve, and was received by him with unbounded kindness and hospitality. He introduced me to his son Augustus, a fine young man scarcely twenty, well informed, and of distinguished but simple and unpretending manners. Immediately afterwards, as dinner was announced, his wife, Madame Palmerin, a graceful woman, who had evidently mixed much in the world, and possessed great conversational powers, entered the room. The English custom of asking individuals at table to drink wine is unknown among the Portuguese, but we pledged each other's healths abundantly, and filled our cups to the prosperity of our mutual friends. In the evening Augustus mounted me on a milk white charger, whose proudly arched neck bespoke its Andalusian breed. We rode to the coast, where I saw a

village, like Costa, resembling an African crail ; the sea was roaring among the rocks, and the shore appeared wild and striking, but the sun had set, and I could hardly distinguish remote objects through "the twilight glow that momentarily grew less." Yet though the hour was late, we lingered long on banks overgrown with aloes, amid olive trees of immense size, and clumps of the carob by some esteemed the most beautiful of European trees ; and here indeed it attains a majestic height, and overhung our path with its finely feathering foliage. We returned to Tavira through groves of cork and olive, among orchards indescribably beautiful from their mass of bloom, and over plains enamelled with flowers ; the air was balmy, and scented with a thousand odoriferous shrubs, and the evening had all the "*douceur enivrante d'une soirée d'Italie*," a happy expression, which well describes the almost intoxicating sensation produced by the delicious nights of southern climes. Soon afterwards the moon arose, and lit up the scene with a splendour unknown to our northern latitudes. On our return we found many persons assembled at the Governor's house ; recent events were the subject of conversation, and although each individual was

guarded in the expression of his opinion, it was evident that the general feeling inclined strongly to the Infant. They maintained his heart was excellent, excused his early follies, and declared that the enthusiastic attachment felt for him in Algarve knew no bounds. Madame said, that ladies wept when they spoke of their Prince, and carried his portrait in their bosoms, a fact undoubtedly true, as I was assured by one lady that she wore his miniature next to her heart by day and night. The Governor informed me that he experienced the utmost difficulty in preventing the people of Tavira from committing acts of violence against persons supposed to be adverse to Don Miguel's claims, and indeed Senhor and Senhora Palmerin, though ardent Miguelists themselves, were eminently calculated to allay the bitter animosities that had grown out of the civil dissensions, as far as general kindness and conciliation could have that blessed effect. In the course of the evening I conversed with a gentleman who impugned the conduct of the Constitutionalists, and though he did not directly object to the constitution itself, gave it a side hit by a very novel argument; he contended, that if the Sovereign, who was a single individual, could err,

and his error produce mischief, the mischief occasioned by an error of the whole Chamber, which consisted of two hundred persons, would be exactly two hundred times more detrimental to the state, although the act committed might be precisely the same in both cases. The company dispersed before supper, after which I retired to rest. The luxury of repose was that night in some degree alloyed by a little circumstance which Madame related during supper, as having occurred in the sleeping room allotted to me only a few days before my arrival. A young girl suddenly entering the apartment perceived a large snake coiled up behind the door; disturbed by her entrance it glided away, and could not afterwards be found. On examining the apartment, I had no difficulty in accounting either for its entrance or for its disappearance, as both the ceiling and floor were old and full of crevices, many of which I could not stop by any contrivance. Knowing that these reptiles are attracted by warmth, I lay down to rest with some uneasy sensations, as such an addition to my solitary couch was not the most desirable partner man could covet, and twice, I confess to my shame, as I felt the smooth cold sheet, I started up believing

that the creature was even then in the act of entwining itself around me. These noxious intrusions are by no means uncommon in the Algarve; there is also a small ant that infests the houses, and is cursed with an outrageous appetite, which brings down upon its tiny but devoted head the vengeance of hard-hearted housekeepers; and a jet black earwig, of a species resembling our own, but of a larger size, is often seen crawling with incredible rapidity, and unceremoniously intruding upon society to the unspeakable dismay of nervous dames.

The Governor kindly urged me to protract my stay at Tavira, and I should have spent with pleasure some days among that amiable family, but was deterred from accepting his invitation by my increasing conviction of an approaching revolution, which would probably render my journey into Alentejo, if deferred, not only difficult, but absolutely impracticable. He gave me a letter to the Juiz de Fora of Villa Real, and, as a mark of high consideration, commanded a naval officer to convey me in a government sloop to Mertola. Society was very languid at Tavira, partly from local causes, and partly from the gloomy aspect of public affairs; the regiment of

Tavira had declared in favour of the Infant on the first announcement of the Charter, and had taken refuge in Spain after the suppression of the revolt; the wives of the exiled officers remained at home, and spent their solitary hours in praying for their injured Prince, and in mourning over their absent lords; a degree of fidelity unusual in the present day among any wives, but most especially in the Peninsula; isolated from the rest of their countrywomen, the spirit of the age has scarcely yet approached the ladies of Tavira; many of them still wear the long Moorish veil, and rarely appear in places of public resort, even in the day, and are content to see the world from their grated windows.

Leaving Tavira I rode through a pretty and populous country to Villa Real. Some lizards of an enormous size, probably exceeding a foot in length, crossed my path; centipedes of huge dimensions did ample credit to their hundred feet, and the far-famed cameleons were occasionally basking on the sunny walls. • The American potato and the plantain is to be found in the gardens of the villas by which we passed. In the Spanish Consul, who signed my passport at Villa Real, I recognised an individual attached to the

British Consulate during my residence at Cadiz some years before. Embarking in a vessel manned by a frolicsome set of fishermen, and crossing the Guadiana, a fine broad stream which falls into the sea immediately below the passage, I landed at Ayamonte, which I visited solely because it was a Spanish town, as I like to trace the national differences that often appear strongly marked when placed in juxtaposition. The houses are neat, have flat roofs, and are decorated with arcades, according to the fashion of the country. The men are handsome, and gaily dressed, wearing short jackets and ornamented hats; but the children are badly clothed. I perambulated the town with great expedition, as certain doleful reminiscences of Spanish interference recurred to my mind; feeling no inclination to resume hostilities with the hydra, I asked no questions and entered no house, but returned to Villa Real the same evening, after a very moderate investigation of the place. On the following morning I saw an instance of cruelty to animals, a fault from which the Portuguese are by no means free, notwithstanding the general mildness of their manners, and a very great fault it is. A little boy was holding

a wounded bird, twirling it round and round, making its broken wing the pivot of his operations. I rose to kill the poor victim whose screams were dreadful, and to give the young rascal a little salutary correction, but the people interposed, and both men and women declared that it was a pity to destroy the bird, as it would survive many hours and afford their child a long continuance of amusement.

This vice, it must be admitted, is not uncommon in Portugal. The streets of Lisbon are infested with dogs which are generally protected by the lower orders, but I remember hearing that a party of young Portuguese armed with pikes amused themselves by sallying forth to destroy these animals. I was told, but am unwilling to believe the fact, that some Englishmen joined this disgusting expedition. I have no morbid feeling on the subject, but I must confess that I could place no confidence in any man who had been guilty of positive cruelty to a dog. The mind of such a man must be almost irreclaimably reckless, or his heart essentially wrong. A dog is united by so many sympathies to the human race, his habits are so much identified with ours, the love of his own species is so com-

pletely superseded by his love of man, he is so often the companion of our sports and the minister of our pleasures, he is so frequently "the first to welcome, foremost to defend,"—that the individual who can inflict causeless suffering on a dog has, in my humble opinion, little of manhood but the name. It may be observed that, generally speaking, cruelty to animals is more or less prevalent among nations as the national morality is high or low.

At Naples the most revolting instances of barbarity are not infrequent, and do not incur the public reprobation. Men who have kept mules for years will sell them, when old and unfit for further work, to be baited and torn to pieces by dogs, and thus repay a life of faithful service by a death of agonizing pain.

Much cruelty is practised at the bull-fights in Spain; but in South America, where the public mind is in a still less healthy state, the barbarities inflicted at those public festivals are too revolting to be endured in the mother country. In Germany, where manners are simple and morals generally pure and unadulterated, humanity towards animals is a virtue sedulously inculcated and widely practised. Nor is this

quality by any means rare among the virtuous Swiss.

In England societies have been formed for the protection of the brute creation, and the improved feelings of a more religious age have compelled the legislature to pass enactments restraining some of the monstrous cruelties which formerly prevailed. Much, indeed, has been done, but much remains to do. The pulpit should impress on the public, and parents on the youthful mind, a just abhorrence of this most unmanly vice. Many of the Dissenters have warmly co-operated with the better portion of the public press in this sacred cause, but have the ministers of the Established Church performed their part with equal zeal? Have that excellent body of men promoted, in this respect, with sufficient diligence the will of Him, who in his merciful regard for every creature which his goodness has endowed with life, commanded that the ox should not be muzzled when it trod the corn, that the dam should not be taken with the young, that the ass should not be yoked together with the ox, that the kid should not be seethed in its mother's milk, and that the knife should be sharpened before the sacrifice was slain?

Exhibitions have indeed, within the last few years, taken place in England, which, except at Paris, have hardly a parallel in iniquity. These exhibitions have, indeed, upon more than one occasion, drawn down the execration of the British public; but yet it is a fact, replete with shame and sorrow to a religious people, that the "hellish Magendie,"* as he is termed by an eloquent writer, should have been permitted to soil this country by his bloody sacrifices, to pander to the worst passions of human nature, and first to vitiate and then attract the minds of our British youth by the excessive horrors he deliberately submitted to their view; atrocities which he weekly perpetrates at Paris, not for the advancement of general science, but to illustrate positions indisputably established, or perhaps to augment the amount of his own receipts at the expense of every virtuous feeling. Who can peruse the published statement of experiments made recently at Edinburgh, by one of his disciples,† without feeling disgust and grief that such acts

* As an operator the man is not I believe unskilful; but medical men abroad observe, that "*comme médecin il est très faible*"—the truly wise are rarely cruel.

† A man of the name of Boillaud. *Vide* Note at the end of the book.

could have been perpetrated in a Protestant country, and that such a statement could have been addressed to a Protestant public? I will not harrow up the feelings of my readers by dwelling upon the enormities recorded in that publication; I will not dilate upon dogs kept in a state of torture for sixteen consecutive days, with burning irons forced into their heads, and all that long tissue of detestable villanies, as those experiments are justly termed by the Editor of the "Literary Gazette," who, under the influence of an honest indignation, exclaims that the authors and abettors of such crimes should be excluded from the pale of society.

What portion of the British public can such a publication have been intended to corrupt? * Where, indeed, can it have touched a kindred string? I do not believe that such practices find favour generally with medical men in England. I have known many individuals belonging to that profession, and have found them honourable as men of the world, full of sympathy in the hour of affliction, and often imbued with high Christian principle; but these protracted butcheries, which degrade the operator far lower than the poor

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brute on which he exercises his fiendish skill, this soiling of the hands for hours, aye, for days together, in blood, this grovelling in torture, is inconsistent with any spirit of Christian charity, or with the proper feelings of a human being. Vivisection may perhaps be justifiable in some rare cases of acknowledged utility, but carried to this horrible extent, it is a plague-spot on an honourable part of the body social, and should be extirpated, or at least restrained by legal enactments, within the narrowest limits possible; otherwise it will involve, in no common obloquy, the profession that has produced a Baillie, that is illustrated by a Halford, and that, existing for the noble purpose of mitigating the sufferings of humanity, tends naturally to soften and to elevate the heart. But this stain upon the profession will be soon effaced, the improved feelings and increased religion of the day cannot and will not slumber over practices so utterly abhorrent to the mild spirit of our faith.

I embarked at seven in the morning in the sloop-of-war prepared for me by the Governor's order; we were assisted by the tide, and the wind though faint was favourable. The hills were sandy, and rather bold than high, and

villages were occasionally scattered along the banks of the river, which there divides the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal. Completely exhausted by the sun, which was that day intolerably oppressive, for the violent heats had already set in, I slept, till we reached Alcoutin, a village prettily situated on the edge of the water. I had just engaged a room at a private house, as there was no inn, when the Commander of the sloop arrived and brought a civil message from the Mayor, who expressed regret that I should have thought of occupying any house but his during my stay at Alcoutin. I adjourned to his house: he was an intelligent young man, a native of the Traz os Montes, and told me that for many years he had spent his little income in collecting a library which was burnt by the insurgents after the capture of Braganza. On that occasion he was compelled to fly, and endured great hardships, rambling among the mountains, and sleeping in the open air when the ground was covered with snow. In the cool of the evening we explored the environs of Alcoutin, and strayed into a garden belonging to a lady of some distinction, whom we met in one of the walks; joining parties, we sat down beneath a fine orange tree, and

feasted on the fruit, which her servants were gathering from the branches. The evening was delicious, the birds sang sweetly, the sky was cloudless, and a few brilliant stars were gradually eclipsed by the moon which was rising and becoming brighter every moment. At length we returned to Alcoutin, and sitting near the window of the Mayor's house enjoyed a view which can hardly be surpassed in rural beauty. Above and around us were bold and picturesque hills; the moon-beams quivered on the peaceful Guadiana as it rolled along, showed the clear outline of the Spanish mountains, and lit up the village of San Lucar on the opposite bank.

As we were gazing upon that tranquil scene, the Captain, a fine old, weather-beaten sailor, appeared and summoned me to embark. He steered, and, as the wind had completely fallen, our crew, consisting of several stout fellows, were compelled to row. The voyage was delightful; the air was warm, not a sound was heard but the dash of the oars, and among the thickets on the bank

"the wakeful nightingale,

Who all night long her amorous descant sung"

As we proceeded, the river ceased to divide the

two kingdoms, and I bade a final farewell to Spain. Occasionally, we passed some boats, which appeared to shun our observation, and although only a few yards distant from us, were almost concealed by the deep shade of the rocks under which they glided. But the Captain's keen and practised eye detected the slightest movement on the face of the water. He regularly challenged the crews of the passing boats, and on their reply some mysterious signs were exchanged, which I afterwards learnt had reference to the revolt at that time breaking out in these districts. On parting from them, the Captain, according to the fashion of the country, invariably saluted them in the following words pronounced in a very peculiar cadence—"May you pass in safety to your home! may you preserve your health! I esteem you greatly." In making use of these expressions he paused distinctly between each separate sentence, but was never interrupted by the person whom he addressed. His hearer stood always in an attitude of profound and solemn attention till the Captain had ceased to speak, and then made his salutation in the very same form of words, the Captain in his turn listening with an air of equal

attention. After this interchange of civilities the respective parties pursued their different ways. These formal greetings are not in this part of Portugal restricted to any class, scarcely indeed to any age. I have seen lads eleven or twelve years old addressing each other with the same gravity of manner and in the same ceremonious style, introducing also the regular pauses between sentences that are rather sung than said. At length we reached Mertola, and moored beneath a high and picturesque rock.

The Captain, who evidently entertained suspicions which he did not think right to communicate, sent a man to the town, whose return I awaited with impatience, as I felt extremely fatigued, and the night was far advanced and had become very cold. He brought the unwelcome tidings of a general revolt at Mertola, which he said would render any attempt on our part to enter the town that night extremely perilous. I therefore wrapped myself up in my plaid and, lying down on one of the benches, took my rest *al fresco*. The blazing torches reflected in the water, brought out in strong relief the tall figures of our crew, dressed in their white tunics and wearing the scarlet sash and the

Algarve bonnet; lit up the eager countenances of some, who were actively engaged in the division of their rude fare, and showed the death-like repose of others, who exhausted by their labours were sunk in a heavy sleep. I awoke early, and lay for some hours shivering on the bench in a most uncomfortable state, for the morning air was intensely cold, and brought back a considerable return of my late feverish attack.

On entering the town I found it in a state of extreme agitation. The people had risen against the Authorities some hours before my arrival, and had proclaimed Don Miguel Absolute King; and large bodies of men were still parading the streets, wearing the Miguelist colours, and threatening to renew the tumults of the preceding day. An immense proportion of the nobility, the clergy, and the magistracy had placed themselves at the head of the movement, and, at a public meeting just held, had drawn up a petition entreating the Infant to abolish the democratic institutions recently established. This meeting was attended by one hundred and seventy-four persons, among whom there were only four dissentients, who drew up a counter-petition, in which they defended their opposition to the

prayer of the petitioners on curious grounds. They declared that the original petition had a tendency to fetter the will of the Infant, by dictating to him the line of conduct he ought to pursue, and was consequently of a seditious and disloyal character. Under this pious dread of infringing upon the prerogative they sought to disguise their real anxiety to preserve the Constitution, and endeavoured to save it by an appeal to principles still more despotic than those which were advocated by their opponents: they were, in fact, unwilling to resign their liberties without a struggle, but were equally desirous to avert the anger of the Government, and their mode of reconciling these conflicting objects was whimsical enough. The town was in such a disturbed state that I could not visit some fine remains of antiquity.

From Mertola I rode over a large tract of country abounding in cork and covered with lavender and cistus to a ruined house, then used as an inn, and situated in the heart of the wilderness, many miles distant from any other habitation. Here I stopped, for I was ill and too exhausted to proceed farther. Two noble storks were perched on a low tree near the house, and

guarded a huge nest which they had built in its branches, while the lesser birds, availing themselves of window-frames that never yet inclosed a pane of glass, had made their habitation in the ceiling of my room, and flew to and fro in utter disregard of mortal man. I was drinking tea when the Borderer entered and informed me that some peasants had intimated their intention of invading my apartment. They said that in their youth they had often heard their fathers speak of the English, but had never themselves seen an individual of that nation, and were anxious to avail themselves of the present opportunity. I desired Juan to give my compliments, and say I should have great pleasure in being exhibited. On the strength of this invitation some wild looking fellows appeared, and standing in a row fixed their stupid eyes upon me, as if determined to enjoy a perfect view of the wild beast; thus they gazed continuously upon me for some minutes, but never uttered a word, and at length departed as they came without the slightest salutation.

I was ill and shivering, though the evening was really warm; I therefore gladly established myself in the kitchen, for the sake of its roaring

fire. The room was spacious and imperfectly lighted, the chimney huge and the roof high and pointed. Here I observed a man of singular appearance, sitting apart, and neither speaking himself nor spoken to by others. His face was pale and haggard, his eyes deep sunk, and his hairs were prematurely grey.

The Borderer whispered in my ear that he was one of the dreadful Lobishomens, a devoted race held in mingled horror and commiseration, and never mentioned without emotion by the Portuguese peasantry. They believe that if a woman be delivered of seven male infants successively, the seventh, by an inexplicable fatality, becomes subject to the powers of darkness, and is compelled on every Saturday evening to assume the likeness of an ass. So changed, and followed by a horrid train of dogs, he is forced to run an impious race over the moors, and through the villages, nor is allowed an interval of rest till the dawning sabbath terminates his sufferings, and restores him to his human shape.

If therefore a peasant chance to meet a pale and weary traveller, at an early hour on a Sunday morning, he shudders, and in fancy sees the traces left by the infernal chase upon the stranger's

haggard countenance. A wound inflicted upon the poor victim of this unhallowed agency, during the very act of transformation, can alone release him from such an accursed bondage; a liberation supposed to be most rarely effected, because few men have courage to behold the appalling change in progress, and still fewer have sufficient coolness to strike the critical blow at the exact moment. Such is the superstition of the Lobis-homens, diffused more or less over the whole of Portugal, but subject to different versions in different districts, and only credited implicitly in the wild and lonely wastes of Alentejo.

On the following morning I continued my journey to Beja, over an immense plain for the most part uncultivated, but occasionally varied by patches of corn and groups of trees, and bounded by the Spanish hills. A creature crossed my path resembling a lizard in form and colour, but of such an enormous size that I can hardly believe it to have been an animal of that species, and should have certainly thought it a guana if it were not extremely doubtful whether any reptiles of that tribe are ever found in Portugal.

Beja stands on an eminence, and with its ancient gate and fine girdle of Moorish towers is

conspicuous from afar. The Mayor received me with great civility, but expressed the most unfeigned surprise at the arrival of an English Lor, as he emphatically called me, observing that the motives which could have induced me to visit Beja were quite unfathomable, and far exceeded his powers of divination. The greatest impediment to my researches invariably arose from the total inability of the natives to comprehend the feeling which prompts an Englishman to forsake the comforts of his native land, and prosecute a fatiguing and hazardous journey through a disturbed country.

In the neighbourhood of the great Peninsular towns, the people, accustomed to the visits of Englishmen, acknowledge the harmless nature of their investigations, and only wonder at the national infatuation. But my arrival created the utmost astonishment in those remote and secluded parts of southern Portugal which had been rarely visited by a stranger; being engaged in no mercantile transactions, and having no ostensible business, I could not assign any of those reasons which influence other travellers, and render their motives explicable to the mind of a foreigner.

My journey to the fortress of Sagres, and after-

wards to Cape St. Vincent, had not only excited surprise, but actual consternation. The most absurd reports of an approaching descent upon the coast by a British force were circulated among the people, and credited by persons whose more extended means of information should have preserved them from the popular error. The people of Beja were so suspicious of my motives, that some gentlemen to whom I sent letters of introduction were rather disposed to treat them as forgeries, than to admit that an Englishman of rank could actually be travelling through the country, at such a time, for the mere gratification of his curiosity.

The soil near Beja is good, but near Evora it is of a lighter and less productive kind. The absence of cultivation over so great a part of Alentejo is not, I think, entirely attributable, as some persons have supposed, to any particular circumstance, but to a combination of causes. The joint tenancies that exist, and the peculiar tenures on which property is generally held, are certainly not favourable to an extended cultivation; but unquestionably the arid nature of the soil over large tracts; their absolute unfitness, in many places, for the growth of corn; the scarcity of

villages; the frequent absence of water, and the general deficiency of hands for agricultural purposes, are the principal causes of the neglected state of the rural interest in Alentejo. This province is, with reference to its size, the least populous in Portugal: the towns and cities are indeed immensely peopled, but whole districts are almost without inhabitants.

The population of Alentejo is supposed to have diminished during the last century, while the Entre Minho has become unable to support its increasing numbers, many of whom annually emigrate from their happy valleys, and offer their services to the inhabitants of other provinces: influenced, however, by similar habits, and by the recollection of a common home, these poor people keep together, ranging from place to place, in tents, under the command of a chosen chief. Large flocks of swine are seen upon the desolate wastes of Alentejo, collected in numbers, under the shade of the evergreen oak, and feeding upon the mast; on this kind of diet they thrive wonderfully, and attain a prodigious size. The hams of Alentejo are proverbially excellent, and indeed are not surpassed, in flavour and quality, by any in the world.

Julius Cæsar signed a treaty of peace at Beja, which from that circumstance derived its ancient name of Julia Pax. I saw here some Roman masonry, apparently the remains of a cloaca; said, by my informant, to form large and lofty communications beneath the city, though now choked up. Whilst I was examining a fine tower, built by King John, I heard a cry as of many voices, shrill, piercing, infinitely prolonged, and eminently absurd, apparently the dying vociferations of pigs, or women in a state of massacre. My attendants were greatly moved by these piteous outcries, and I discovered, upon inquiry, that they proceeded from womankind, in the shape of tender nuns, proclaiming vigorously, "Don Miguel, Absolute King of Portugal."

In the evening I beheld a most impressive scene, strongly characteristic of the country and of the time. Happening to stray into a great church as the day was falling, I found it thronged with persons, listening with deep attention to the discourse of an eminent preacher. The first part of his sermon consisted of the usual moral precepts, but then advancing slowly, and almost imperceptibly, to the main object of his address, he warned his hearers against the impious men

who wished to undermine their holy religion, and deprive those who sat in lofty places of their rights. In this general and guarded language he addressed them for some time, assuring himself of their sympathy before he fully developed his views. At length he spoke of the Infant in explicit terms; he pourtrayed in vivid colours the high-wrought devotion which he had shown to the cause of God, even in his boyish days; he described him as the youthful Saviour of his country, the Princely Saint. He then represented him as fallen from his high estate, the victim of his holy zeal, given over to the oppressor, and sent across the sea to spend the best years of life in cheerless and unmerited exile.

During this period of his discourse the men were greatly moved, the women bathed in tears. By a sudden and artful transition, thrilling in its effects on the mind, he passed from this affecting description of his woes and wrongs to the glorious circumstances attendant on his return; an event, he said, indisputably wrought by the hand of God, which had marked him out to the nation as her chosen ruler; and as Noah and his company were permitted to ride in safety over the dreadful deep, when none others saw and lived, so was the

Infant, returning to the throne of his ancestors, miraculously preserved amid the storms that strewed his native coast with wrecks. As he gave vent to his own excited feelings, the animation of his manner and the fervour of his language increased. He denounced the guilty freemasons, haters of the Church, and enemies of God's delegate upon earth: he pronounced the heaviest maledictions,—dishonour and mischance in this world, and doom eternal in the next, on all those erring men who listened to the dark suggestions of the conspirators against their lawful Prince, the well-beloved of God, the specially guarded by his Patron Saint the Archangel Miguel. Finally, he enjoined his hearers, as they valued their immortal souls, to obey a call which came from Heaven itself.

If it was curious to observe the knowledge of human passions which he displayed, and the inimitable skill with which he moulded them to his purposes, it was still more interesting to trace the alternations, from melting pity to fervid indignation, produced upon his hearers by the varying tenor of his discourse. * The effect was quite electrical when first abandoning a veiled though pointed style of expression, he burst forth into a

sweeping denunciation against the Constitution-
alists, and, as a prophet commissioned from on
high, preached a crusade in favour of their heaven-
sent Prince; a murmur of applause and sympathy
pervaded the assembly, and would have grown into
a loud unanimous shout, had not respect for the
sacred pile restrained such an irreverent expres-
sion of their feelings. But though the expression
faltered on the tongue, neither time nor place could
quell the thought then burning in the heart, and
the sparkling eye, the arm involuntarily raised
as in defiance, and the low but fiercely uttered
vow which ran round the holy place, bespoke the
general and determined will.

I beheld the scene with the deepest interest,
and thought of the famous meeting at Clermont,
when, summoned to avenge the Christian griefs
by Peter the Hermit, the mighty multitude,
moved by an eloquence as stormy, and inspired
by as unanimous a mind, cried out, "It is the will
of God, it is the will of God!"

CHAPTER XII.

Revolt in the Provinces—Evora—Author arrested—Montero—Fury of the Populace—The Prison—Audalusian Bandit—The Corregidor—Confinement—Tumult and Defeat of the Troops—Author released—The “Borderer’s” Character—Evora Cathedral—Leave for Lisbon—Montemor—Superstition of the Beggars—Peguines—Arrive at Lisbon—Don Miguel declared King—Quit Lisbon—Reflections on Past Events—Return to England.

ON the following morning I rose before the break of day. In quitting Beja I saw a fine red stag, which recalled to my memory the wild heaths of distant Devonshire,

“Where the hunter of deer and the chieftain trod
To the hills that encircle the sea,”

and for the moment Portugal and Portuguese politics vanished from my mind. I rode over some beautiful forest ground, and afterwards entered on an immense and apparently boundless waste; here I felt a touch of that peculiar feeling, so often called a foreboding of approaching ill, but which in this, and in almost every similar case, is only the result of observations, that leave a general and indistinct, but not ill-founded impression, although the train of reasoning which leads to that impression is at the time too subtle

and too rapid to be detected even by the mind through which it passes. But as I made further progress over these wild plains, there were symptoms of the moral storm, distinct and obvious to the most careless eye. I observed couriers occasionally riding in breathless haste; peasants coming from different quarters, all bearing the red cockade; beggars, who no longer paused to supplicate, but wore a look of fierce excitement, and pushed on in one direction, as if they scented a richer prey; and once I passed a strange, wild-looking man, apparently half pilgrim and half prophet, declaiming, in the emphatic language of the day, in favour of the Prince. These circumstances convinced me that society was ruffled by no passing breeze, but was upheaving from its lowest depths.

It was now clear, from the statements of all with whom we paused for a moment to converse, that the long-apprehended revolt had actually taken place, and that the people were on all sides rising *en masse* against the Constitutionalists. Our situation had now become extremely precarious: Beja, which we had just left, was manifestly on the eve of an explosion; Evora, which lay before us, was actually the scene of fearful

commotions, and the same spirit was rapidly diffusing itself through all the neighbouring towns and villages; in short, it was evident, from many concurring accounts, that both in front and in rear, towards the western wilds, and along the Spanish frontier, revolution, from which there seemed no escape, inevitable revolution, had drawn around us its fiery circle.

“Tu ne cede malis sed contra audentior ito,”

was, however, in this emergency my safest and indeed my only principle of action. While yet in the open plain, some miles from Evora, we saw in the distance a cloud of dust, upon which Juan with some trepidation announced the approach of a Black Company,—bands thus denominated by the peasantry from the dark nature of their deeds. These companies were confined to the wild parts of Alentejo, and were the offspring of the civil distractions, during which they originated, and with which they ceased to exist. They generally consisted of mounted ruffians, who combined together under political* pretences for purposes of plunder, and proceeded from village to village perpetrating great outrages. Such would indeed have been unwelcome visitors, but Juan's alarm proved groundless.

Evora is built on an eminence like Beja, and is striking from its elevation, and venerable from its ancient towers. Passing under a high arch and entering the town, we were challenged by the sentinel on duty, who at first supposed me to be a Spaniard, and, under that impression, behaved with the utmost civility; but my passport soon revealed my English origin, and this discovery produced an immediate change of manner. The city was apparently in a very excited state, for the people had collected together in groups in the public square, and were engaged in earnest conversation, but seeing me stopped by the guard they flocked around us to inquire the cause, and heard that I was an Englishman with marked displeasure. They assailed me with a thousand questions respecting the motives of my journey, and my arrival at that critical moment; and became confirmed in their worst suspicions when I could make no reply which was in their opinion satisfactory. Some demagogues, availing themselves of these prepossessions against me, cried out, that I was an accursed Englishman, a son of that heretical nation which was now preparing to wage war

against the holy faith, and murder their lawful King Don Miguel.

My position was awkward enough: the mob had already fallen upon Juan, and were plundering my baggage, and several fierce enthusiasts threatened, and indeed seemed preparing, to pull me from my horse. In this annoying conjuncture the sentinel gave a fortunate direction to the growing ferment by declaring me a state prisoner, whose machinations ought to be fully investigated, and for this purpose he would take me to the town-hall and submit my case to the Mayor; the people acquiesced in his proposal, and shouted, "To the Mayor! to the Mayor!"

I was then placed between two soldiers, and surrounded and followed by a menacing crowd was led to the town-hall, where I found the Mayor in an upper apartment, greatly disconcerted by this appeal to his authority. His utmost ingenuity could not devise any legal ground upon which the adoption of coercive measures against me could be justified; but the fierce threats and lawless conduct of the mob below showed him the imminent danger of refusing to comply with their declared wishes. He paced the room to and fro

in a state of extreme indecision, and, at length, unwilling to condemn yet afraid to acquit me, sent me for final judgment to the Corregidor. I was then led to the house of that officer escorted by a crowd, which like a snowball gathered strength as it rolled along; but the Corregidor, placed in the same disagreeable alternative of encountering the popular anger, or pronouncing an illegal and discreditable judgment, declaimed against the Mayor's indecision; and, trembling himself, said that he hated timid men, and sent me back to the town-hall. This game of battledoor and shuttlecock was not less annoying to me than to the people, who, anxious for an immediate decision, expressed their impatience by an angry yell and threatened to take the affair into their own hands.

On my return to the town-hall his Worship's irresolution was at once removed by a soldier, who informed him that the people would no longer brook delay, and were forcing their way up stairs. At this intelligence a hurried consultation took place between the Mayor and the Secretaries of Police, and I was again placed under the custody of the guard, which conducted me to a large hall filled with militia men. There

I met the Borderer, my companion in misfortune, who informed me that he had been despoiled of his knife, his pistol, and all that he carried about him.

I was here required to give up my papers, and all that I had in my pocket, and when this operation was completed the Secretary desired the soldiers to do their duty. "Senhor, follow me," said the Serjeant.—"To what place?" "To prison," he replied. I repeated his words in unfeigned astonishment, for although I was fully aware of the perilous predicament in which I stood, the idea of a prison had never suggested itself to my mind. The sudden and varying emergencies of the eventful hour, which had elapsed since my arrival at Evora, had employed all my faculties in counteracting immediate dangers, and had left me no time to speculate on my eventual destination; but this unexpected announcement excited my surprise and indignation to such a degree, that I burst forth into a strain of unusual vehemence, denied their right to imprison me, and reminded them of the old Portuguese law by which no Fidalgo could be legally confined in a common jail.

I felt, even then, that such a plea might be con-

sidered invidious, and was moreover ill-founded, as any enactment of that nature could of course apply to native rank only; but I knew that it was in accordance with the opinions studiously professed by the party into whose hands I had fallen, and was therefore calculated to embarrass their operations. I concluded by saying that the privileges of an Englishman, violated in my person, would be surely and promptly redressed by the British Ambassador.

The agents of the Police were evidently startled by a vehemence so unusual in a prisoner; and in the pause that followed, a militia-man of the name of Montero came forward, and suggested that during the night I should be confined in the guard-room instead of the prison, saying that he would be responsible for my appearance on the following morning. The Police acceded willingly to a proposition which in some degree extricated them from their perplexing situation, and as Montero was distinguished for his attachment to the Infant, and was extremely popular both with the people and the militia, the mob consented though not without reluctance.

Determined, however, to have one victim, they seized upon the Borderer, and declared that he

should expiate his own and his Master's crimes in prison. I remonstrated with them on the extreme injustice of persecuting an individual against whom no accusation was levelled, and whose sole offence consisted in his temporary connexion with an Englishman; but carried away by their senseless fury, they twice endeavoured to drag him to prison, and twice assisted by Montero's earnest exhortations I prevented them.

At length the point was adjusted in our favour, and, for that night at least, he was permitted to share his Master's fortunes. The scene must have appeared striking indeed to an indifferent spectator, for though so much occupied by the embarrassments of my actual position I was not, even then, insensible to the picturesque appearance of surrounding objects. The militia-men were standing in groups, some anxiously expecting their final orders, others holding aloft blazing torches that dispelled with their red glare the darkness of the night which had just set in, and showed the people still pressing into the hall through the lofty archway, and lit up the vaulted roof and the walls literally black with smoke; and there, looking upon the threatening crowd

with a calm but sullen eye, the Borderer stood conspicuous by his red scarf and Castillian hat.

We were now removed to the guard-room, and placed under the strictest surveillance, for neither Juan nor myself were allowed to exchange a word. In the evening the Serjeant Montero appeared, and with a delicacy unlooked for, but not in the Peninsula infrequent in his rank of life, entreated me to consider myself rather as a guest than a prisoner, and assured me that, while he had authority, the guard-room should be reserved for my use.

This man's conduct was highly creditable: he had opposed with manly firmness the indiscriminating passion of the multitude, he had obtained for me better terms from their leaders than I could have expected under actual circumstances, and had tempered by the courtesy of his manner the real harshness of their measures. Soon afterwards some agents of the Police arrived, examined my baggage, and took possession of the greater part of my papers. My journal I had secreted in my mattress, to which I therefore clung with an apparent tenacity of regard for my creature comforts, which somewhat amazed the worthy inspectors.

I had now cause to congratulate myself on the precaution which I had taken in thus concealing my notes; but not you, my gentle reader, for had they been seized, you would most assuredly have never been troubled with the perusal of these little volumes. A few loose papers of some consequence were in my pocket at the moment of my arrest, but these I contrived to slip up my sleeve during the subsequent confusion. They, however, occasioned me great uneasiness, as I momentarily expected to see them fall to the ground, for ever and anon I felt them travelling down my arm, and as so many eyes were fixed upon me I could only replace them by sundry jerks intended to pass for the vehement gesticulations of outraged honour.

In the course of the evening I gradually discovered that a great popular movement had taken place at Evora, and that the revolutionary ferment was at its height. It appeared that just before my arrival, the people impatient to proclaim Don Miguel, had summoned the Juiz de Povo, an officer appointed for the express purpose of submitting their wishes to the Camera or municipality, and had enjoined him to convene that body without delay. When the Camera had

assembled, the people forced their way into the apartment where they were sitting in conclave, and compelled each member successively, on pain of instant death, to affix his signature to a document declaratory of the Infant's right to the throne. They then unfurled the national standard, paraded the city, and proclaimed him under the title of Miguel I. The Military Governor of Evora, warmly attached to the Imperial cause, endeavoured to suppress the insurrection, but upon his interference the population rose *en masse*, and, joined by the militia, attacked with desperate courage and completely defeated the regular forces, who escaped from the city with difficulty and loss.

Their Commanding officer was only saved by the extraordinary exertions of his troops; and the Colonel of the militia, deserted by his men who almost unanimously espoused Don Miguel's cause, fell desperately wounded. It was at that ill-fated time, in the very first moment of the popular triumph, that I reached Evora; the popular laurels were fresh, the popular success was complete, but the victors had not yet dispersed, their dead were still unburied, and their vengeance unappeased. During the whole of

the day on which I arrived, the greatest disorders prevailed; the links that hold society together were dissolved, and the persons of the Constitutionalists were everywhere attacked, and their houses plundered. On that dreadful day alone, two hundred persons are said to have been arrested by the furious rabble, and dragged to prison, without the warrant of any legal forms, or the sanction of any legal authority.

The arrival of an Englishman at such a conjuncture was calculated to excite deep suspicion, for the Miguelists then considered the British as the great stay and hope of the Constitutional party, and regarded us with a hatred proportioned to the unbounded love they bore the Infant. He had not yet indeed assumed the Crown, but was invariably styled King by the civil officers, the militia, and most of the inhabitants, who wore the red and blue cockade in token of their devoted attachment to his cause.

The guard-room was small, and contained no furniture, except indeed a clumsy table attached to the wall; there I passed the night, devoured by insects, and oppressed by the heat, for the door was closed, and the window fastened. Montero called in the morning, and expressed his

readiness to oblige me in any point consistent with his duty, but he was superseded immediately afterwards, and I was consigned to the charge of a most hot-headed Miguelist who had obtained some share of public favour from the exaggeration of his political principles; this man quickly asserted his power with a degree of insolence which I could ill endure. He threw open the door of the apartment, insisting that it should not be closed till night had set in, and actually encouraged the rabble to gather round the window which looked into the square, and was only a few feet from the ground. Groups collected and dispersed several times in the course of the morning, but later in the day they assembled in greater numbers, and gave very decided indications of hostile feeling.

My mattress had been placed on the table, but they now insisted on its removal, and desired that it should be put on the floor, while, in compliance with another mandate, the bed on which the guard slept was promoted in its stead. My servant, attended by a militia-man, had been allowed on the preceding evening to fetch provisions from the town; but my new Governor would neither permit Juan to leave the guard-room in the early

part of the day, nor would he send out any of his own men on such a necessary errand; and when he at length consented to let Juan go he was driven back with threats by the people, so that we were kept for about twenty hours without any food.

That day slowly wore away, one of the most displeasing I have ever experienced, for it was attended by humiliating circumstances, though not by a sense of humiliation, and I can hardly now revert to it without sickening sensations. During ~~my~~ previous expeditions into revolutionized countries I had been exposed to danger as imminent, but danger had been then unaccompanied by insult, and my spirits had risen under the excitement; but now, confined within narrow bounds, exhibited to the crowd, an object of mingled curiosity and abhorrence, taunted, and still worse, occasionally pitied, I concealed my indignation under the mask of indifference. A few bright traits, however, relieved the general gloom of the picture. A Frenchman, approaching the window, addressed me in his native language, and expressed regret at my situation and intimated his willingness to serve me; and a young officer of rank, to whom I was subse-

quently indebted for acts of real kindness, entered the guard-room, and had the courage to pledge me in a glass of wine. The guard, suspicious of a conversation which they did not understand, obliged the Frenchman to retire, but only looked sullenly on the young officer, whose rank and station in some degree awed them into good behaviour.

The day began to fall, and my situation was indeed most uncomfortable. Large bodies of men paraded the streets singing revolutionary songs, intermingled with appalling shouts, and stopping under the walls of the prison, which almost adjoined the guard-house, uttered furious denunciations of vengeance against its unpopular inmates. From thence they proceeded to the guard-room, and, gathering round the open window, gave loud hurrahs for Don Miguel, and, looking at me with glaring eyes and clenched fists, testified their rooted detestation by every angry gesture and expression, and by every varied intonation of voice, from the passionate yell to the hateful hiss, and then departed, after some ferocious shouts of "Death to the Freemasons" and "Death to the English," promising to return at a later hour and destroy the ac-

cursed and heretical conspirator. My charitable Governor, who had hitherto lost no opportunity of increasing the odium under which I laboured, became alarmed at these vindictive menaces, uttered as they manifestly were with the dreadful energy of real determination. He knew that his countrymen of Evora, when fairly roused, had much of the tiger in their wrath; he was well aware that the hours of darkness were generally selected for acts of outrage against individuals, and he felt himself unable to protect me from the coming storm. He, therefore, sent a message to the Authorities requesting them to make out an order for my immediate committal to prison, as he fully expected the guard-room to be forced that night by the mob, and would no longer hold himself responsible for my life. His report was confirmed by the representations of the Frenchman and of the young Officer, who had kindly interested themselves in my behalf, and who now urged with equal vehemence the necessity of my removal to some place of real protection. The Authorities had unwillingly sanctioned my arrest in the first instance, and had subsequently taken no notice of the affair, hoping that in a time so pregnant with events the whole transaction would

be forgotten in a few hours, in which case they intended to sign my passport for Lisbon, and desire me to leave the city without delay ; but on receiving this intelligence they made out the order for my committal, and sent a party of militia-men, accompanied by two Secretaries of Police, to see it carried into immediate execution.

The huge prison doors were opened by the jailor, a tall man, apparently still athletic, though he had numbered more than seventy years, and every hair on his head was white. Entering, I found myself in a low vaulted passage, the termination of which was lost in obscurity ; it led to a dungeon, and was so dark that it might well appear to the eye of fancy a communication between the upper world and the infernal regions. Passing this gloomy corridor we reached a flight of stairs guarded by an iron door, whose grated bars of immense thickness precluded all hope of escape. This door the jailor unlocked, and ascending the staircase conducted me to my destined apartment, which was lofty, spacious, and unequally divided by an iron grating ; the roof was of wood, high, and pointed ; the floor of stone, while two windows, or rather apertures, for they contained no glass, looked into the street,

and were strongly guarded by iron bars placed in transverse directions. Such was the general aspect of a room that had neither fire-place, nor chair, nor table, nor furniture of any kind.

It is a trite observation that our ideas of happiness and misery are entirely relative; in the even course of ordinary life we are hardly aware how rapidly and of the extent to which our feelings vary with varying emergencies. The mere suggestion of a prison had on the preceding evening filled me with irrepressible anger; so gross an indignity seemed scarcely tolerable, even in imagination, but yet, in fact, I have seldom known a more grateful moment than that in which I first crossed the threshold of my prison-room and heard the retiring steps of the jailor as he turned upon me the key of the iron door. I then felt that I would rather submit to any hardship and encounter any danger than again pass through the bitter ordeal which I had that day undergone in the guard-room. The massive walls and strong bars of my grated apartment deprived me indeed of personal freedom, but delivered me from contumely and menace, and from great and imminent peril; they spoke the language of protection, and the solitude to which

they consigned me was unspeakably delightful after the overbearing clamours of the populace.

In the course of the evening the Secretaries of the Police arrived to take my depositions, which I signed at their requisition, having first attentively perused them; I had thus some practical experience of the mode of administering justice in Portugal. A prisoner charged with the commission of an offence is subjected to a strict examination, his answers are recorded by an officer of the law, acknowledged by his own signature, and then submitted to the Judge, who is guided in his opinion of the case by this record and by an accompanying statement of facts; but should the record and the statement be perverted, it is evident that subsequent proceedings flowing from a tainted source must be equally vitiated, and the more upright the intentions of the Judge the more unjust will the final judgment be. And thus it happens that a skilful notary can often in the first stage of the process determine the eventual fate of the accused, who, if dull and uneducated, will sometimes, through sheer stupidity and a total ignorance of the nature of the act he is performing, put his name to a record of questions and answers, imperfect, garbled, and unfairly

prejudicial to his own cause ; but he will, perhaps, more frequently, by a dishonest connivance with his legal examiner, obtain a version of the affair eminently favourable to his own case and equally disadvantageous to the interests of justice. On the present occasion I had no reason to complain of the notaries, for they were unprejudiced, and well-intentioned, and represented the transaction in its real colours.

Some years before the events to which I am now alluding, I passed through Lucena, a town situated in the kingdom of Granada, and in the heart of a wild and secluded district, at that time abandoned, almost without a struggle, to a numerous banditti, who had encamped in a neighbouring forest, and were carrying on their depredations with impunity. Every man carried a musket, every detached house was rudely fortified as in the feudal times, and the boldest feared to traverse the wood except in caravans or large bodies, associated and armed for mutual protection. I remember hearing at this place that a noted robber had recently appeared in the town and had murdered an inhabitant in the open day ; he was arrested, but, in consequence of the nature of the depositions stating the case, was

speedily liberated. I asked how this had occurred. "It was quite natural," my informant answered, "for he supplied the Escribanos and some of our principal magistrates with clothes." "Was he then a tailor?" I asked with some surprise; knowing well that the Andalusian bandit generally follows his vocation pretty exclusively, and regards with haughty contempt the peaceful habits of industrious life. "A tailor, Señor," said my friend, smiling at my simplicity, "he was a caballero (a cavalier), and when any travellers fell into his hands he appropriated their gold and their goods generally, but reserved the waistcoats and trowsers of the denuded individuals for the Escribanos and magistrates, who were consequently the best dressed men in the town, and were thus enabled to keep up the dignity of their profession. In his prosperous days he supported them, and they were bound by every tie of interest and honour to uphold him in the hour of adversity." This good understanding between the robber and the functionary is rather severe upon the traveller, not only because all hope of redress or restitution of goods is thereby rendered hopeless, but because a real orthodox bandit of Andalusia generally disdains the appropriation of

wearing apparel, and, therefore, this spoliation of coats and waistcoats may be considered as an extra loss incurred for the benefit of the guardians of the law.

The state of Lucena was singular enough about that time. To English eyes it was curious to behold a party dressed for an evening assembly proceeding to a house a few hundred yards from the town with muskets in their hands. It was a strange mixture of modern civilization with an almost feudal state of society.

But to return to my narrative.—The Intendant left me; the city remained that night in a state of the greatest excitement, and the yells were sometimes tremendous.

The life of a prisoner is monotonous enough, as it is rather a history of feelings than events. The grateful sensation at first inspired by my prison walls soon ceased to operate on my mind, while the strict confinement became every day more severely felt, and was to me peculiarly irksome, as it involved a total change of habits. For some time past I had generally been on horseback from sun-rise to sun-set, and the narrow limits within which my movements were now restricted formed a most unpleasant contrast to

the free range of the mountainous Algarve and the interminable wastes of the Alentejo; and as I saw through my grated windows the bright sun and the blue unclouded sky which I could now no more enjoy, I longed for "the life so late I led," and pined for the open heath and the rushing steed. Many hours of the day I spent in pacing my apartment, sometimes I amused myself by observing a dark-eyed lady who frequented a balcony on the opposite side of the street, but still more often I lay on my mattress reading over and over again my only book, *Gil Blas*, a most appropriate study, for his imprisonment by villanous Corregidores made my own woes appear quite classical. I was fortunately on good terms with the jailor, who when he brought me my meals would sometimes linger to inform me of the events occurring in the town, and I was always prepared for his arrival by the heavy sound made by the grated door at the foot of the stairs, as he unlocked it and swung it back on its iron hinges; a sound which, however discordant it might have appeared under happier circumstances, was in my state of solitude rarely unwelcome.

I remember being amused by a little incident,

which was curious enough as a striking instance of the greater importance men often attach to words than to things. One night when the jailor was bringing me supper he observed, speaking of his parents, that his father was a native of Galicia. I afterwards inadvertently called him a Gallician: "No Senhor," said the old man, drawing himself up with dignity, "I did not say my Father was a Gallician, I only said that he and his parents before him were born in Galicia," a distinction too subtle for my unrefined intellect, but which really originated in a keen sense of the contempt which in Portugal unjustly attaches to the word Gallician.

One day I was surprised by a visit from the young officer whom I have already mentioned. He was accompanied by the Frenchman, and had been permitted to see me by the Authorities. Having previously called upon the Corregidor, he had represented to him the injustice of humouring a misguided people by detaining any longer in prison an individual charged with no definite offence; he had urged him to issue an immediate but secret order for my liberation, saying, that he would take me to his Father's house, without attracting the public attention, and would

consider himself responsible for my appearance on the day required.

The Corregidor in answer regretted the treatment I had experienced, and admitted that my arrest could not be defended on legal grounds, adding that if he had been present in the first instance he would have ordered the sentinel to let me pass unquestioned, but that such a course was subsequently rendered impracticable by the violent prepossessions of the people. He had been, however, anxious to show me every possible indulgence, and had awarded to me the best apartment in the prison; but he could not comply with his young friend's request, as an order for my release would be construed by the suspicious citizens into a connivance with persons arrested on political charges, and would very possibly be followed by an attack on the prisons, and a massacre of the prisoners.

His declaration was sincere, and I felt it to be so. The Corregidor could not act otherwise, for he was no longer a free agent, but the slave of a faction that would only acknowledge his authority while he complied implicitly with their wishes. Yet although my young friend's application was ineffectual, I was gratified by the

generous zeal, which had prompted him to take so deep an interest in the fate of a perfect stranger ; but he was only twenty-one, and at that age the heart is warm, and the mind has scarcely begun to calculate.

That day, enlivened by the visit of my friends, brief as that visit was, made the next appear more cheerless ; cheerless it seemed indeed to me, though full of beauty and brightness to the emancipated portion of mankind ; towards evening the aspect of the heavens changed, clouds gathered, and

—“with the night

Came storm and darkness in their mingling might.”

I had never entirely recovered from the feverish attack under which I had suffered in the Algarve, and the want of fresh air and exercise now produced a return of indisposition, and the appalling cries of “Death to the prisoners,” which rose that evening from groups collected beneath my windows, jarred peculiarly on a mind then restless and irritable from disease. The disturbance was, however, of short duration ; it seemed as if yielding “to power unseen, and mightier far than they ;” the furies of the human breast were silenced by the more angry strife of the elements,

for as the weather grew tempestuous the popular uproar died away. And as I lay on my mattress exhausted, yet unable to sleep, gazing on the melancholy light of a solitary lamp and the strong reflection cast upon the wall by the iron-grating, I could only hear the fitful gusts of the passing wind as it shook the building, and the mournful and unvarying splash of the rain as it fell drop after drop from the over-hanging roof on the pavement below.

Time and circumstance alike contributed to dispirit me, and vexatious thoughts chased each other rapidly through my mind. I felt that the issue of my adventure was extremely doubtful: a favourable statement of my case had indeed been forwarded to the Minister of Police at Lisbon, and I entertained no doubt of his willingness to release me. I had written to the British Ambassador, and was well assured of his interference in my behalf, but I knew that serious differences must have arisen between the Governments of Great Britain and Portugal, in consequence of Don Miguel's recent conduct, and it was then generally believed at Evora that Sir Frederick Lamb had actually left the kingdom.

My letter might therefore never reach its des-

tion; should it, however, find Sir Frederick in Portugal, still it was extremely probable that under the actual excitement, the local authorities would not venture to enforce an order issued by the central government if opposed to the public feeling at Evora; and the violence of the mob, which occasionally collected around the prison, convinced me that even its thick walls and ponderous bars would not afford its inmates any certain protection against a sudden burst of popular fury.

I was also hardly satisfied with my own conduct. A dislike to bend to circumstances, and alter the route I had originally fixed on, when the expediency of such an alteration had become apparent, assisted in some degree by a desire to see the great political change in progress, had carried me into scenes which cooler heads would have avoided; and if the loss of life should eventually prove the penalty of my indiscretion, such a termination of my exploit would not be cheered by any consolatory reflections, for I should have perished in an expedition that could hardly under any circumstances have been useful to others, or to myself.

From the contemplation of actual evils my

mind "flew unconscious o'er each backward year," and past as well as present scenes were tinged with the same sombre hue. I had never perhaps before had leisure to devote so many hours uninterruptedly to calm and dispassionate reflection. In active life the mind is hurried on by the pursuit of some real or imagined good, by the eagerness of speculation, and the overmastering force of passion, and turns away from all that is painful in the impressions of former years,—impressions which the mind can never wholly erase, but refuses to dwell upon as injurious to its energies.

When captured by a Catalan Guerilla in the great Spanish revolt of 1822, and threatened with instant death, there was a grandeur in the events passing around me, and a corresponding elevation of sentiment in those among whom my lot was for the moment cast, which made me comparatively insensible to the fate which might possibly await me. Their chivalrous and unconquerable attachment to their lawful king, their gallant bearing against outnumbering enemies, and under an overwhelming reverse of fortune, and their stedfast resistance to the most unrighteous persecution which ever brought down

infamy on the prostituted name of freedom; these were qualities that put to shame the self-arrogated virtue of the Spanish legislator, these are traits which shed a glorious and redeeming light upon the gloomy history of those days; these are circumstances which time can never efface from my mind, and which impressed me strongly even in that hour of personal danger. And the sight of Vilia, rich in youthful heroism when the morning sun arose, rich in her bowers and halls, but a heap of blood and ashes when that sun went down; the sight, I say, of beautiful but perishing Vilia,* and the heavy sound of the destroying cannon, reverberating among the rocks, as it mowed down the never-yielding population of that devoted place, excluded from my mind every other emotion save that of ardent sympathy with the martyred Royalists.

But in my lonely prison-room at Evora, with nothing to interest, and little to excite, debarred from every wonted occupation, deprived of books and "left in utter solitude, to pine the prey of every changing mood," exposed to the chances of a dreadful and inglorious death, and unsupported

* A town in the north of Spain, destroyed by the Constitutional troops in the spring of 1822.

by a single circumstance that could give dignity to danger, my spirits became depressed, not broken. My mind, thrown entirely on its own resources, found a painful pleasure in recalling past scenes, and retracing the stormy course of my own varied and eventful life; for in my continual rambles I had mixed with every class, and experienced every vicissitude of fortune.

That hour of physical and mental depression exercised a softening influence on all my feelings. Those whom I loved appeared in lovelier colours, those whom I had been accustomed to view under a less kindly aspect were now seen by the sobered spirit in a more charitable light, and many of my own actions, deemed in their day of little moment, became to stern reflection each a crime. I thought of the various occurrences I had witnessed in various countries, from the Italian revolutions down to the actual moment; I heard again the lofty aspirations breathed by an ardent people in the delusive hour of an imagined liberation, and their patriotic cry that the last day of slavery was the brightest of existence, rung again in my ears.* I remembered the misjudg-

* I remember seeing, on a great public occasion at the breaking out of the Piedmontese revolution, two hundred educated per-

ing zeal with which I then concurred in their hopes, and I turned from the excesses which had belied the noble promise of that day and had disappointed my boyish enthusiasm. And blended with the stirring recollection of public events came the memory of pleasures past and friendships contracted in the midst of war and confusion. Those companionships had been marred and broken,—that country had been visited by the heavy hand of civil war. One undistinguishing night had buried all.

He who has ever spent a restless night, when the frame is fevered and the heart heavy, no doubt remembers the unreasonable impatience

sons lay their hands on their hearts, and cry out "*Le dernier jour de l'esclavage est le plus beau de la vie.*" When the Constitution was proclaimed, I was given a tricolor cockade by one of the revolutionists, and preserved it as a curious memorial of the time. During the great Catalan revolution, when my desk was searched by the exasperated Royalists, I expected every moment to see these ill-starred badges of democracy brought up in judgment against me; but to my surprise the investigation passed over without eliciting this apparently conclusive proof of my revolutionary tendencies. I was not aware, till many months afterwards, that my life had been preserved by the kind foresight of a sister, who, with her constant affection, had taken precautions for her brother which he had not taken for himself. Under the influence of some general apprehension, she had removed, without my knowledge, those dangerous emblems from my desk immediately before my departure for Spain.

with which he pined for the first glimpse of day as he turned from side to side on his lonely couch, vainly soliciting

“ That sleep which would not weigh his eyelids down
And steep his senses in forgetfulness.”

Such was my fretful and unhappy state on the evening to which I allude. Sleep, “ nature’s kind nurse,” refused to visit me till the waning lamp showed that the night was far spent; then, indeed, sleep came, but not repose,—the busy mind renewed its painful train of thought. My recollections assumed distinct form and colouring; I was transported to the cherished scenes of former years—I saw once more the friends of my early days—I mingled with the absent; and the dead, restored to all the freshness of existence, greeted me again—

“ With hand as warm and brow as gay
As if we parted yesterday.”

I was suddenly and terribly awakened. I started up and drank in with eager ears the most dreadful yell that I ever yet heard sent forth by an infuriated people; that shout I felt at once was no longer a general expression of political animosity, but the voice of popular passion freshly and violently excited. The crowd, however, which

had so fearfully revealed its near approach, rushed on, and in a moment more I could scarcely hear the distant sound of their heavy tread; but the volcano was labouring, and the eruption was at hand. After a brief interval I heard a confused sound of voices, and climbing up to the iron grating looked through it with intense anxiety. The sun had risen, but my view was limited to the street in which the prison was situated; I listened attentively, yet heard no repetition of those startling cries; but as the low moaning wind precedes the tempest, so a general though indistinct murmur, uncommon at that early hour in the morning, and apparently rising from all quarters of the city, seemed to portend some unusual agitation. Soon afterwards small parties rushed down the streets calling out for arms, knocking at the houses, and exhorting their friends to rise; the signal was obeyed, the groups were reinforced, and the tumult increased. At length the drum beat to arms, and the tocsin sent forth its formidable peal. At this tremendous summons the insurrection became universal, and a furious crowd pressed down the street, as through the main artery of the city. As the refuse of the ocean is brought from its lowest depths

to the surface by a disturbance of the waters, so the worst portion of the population, roused by the storm, was now seen conspicuous. Every foul alley, every subterranean cellar sent forth its birds of prey to darken with their ill-omened presence a scene which needed no additional horrors; an ill-favoured race, which shunned the light in quiet times, and never left their loathsome precincts but for deeds of ill,—men upon whom it were enough to look but once to see that murder was their trade, and to feel that mercy could be no inmate of their hearts. Mixed with them were the more respectable inhabitants of the place, militiamen, artisans, and peasants, variously attired and variously armed, some clad in long dark cloaks, others half naked from the haste with which they obeyed the summons; some bearing muskets and bayonets, others long knives, while many brandished the huge club and held aloft the dreadful pike. They were evidently pressing on to the horrible work of blood, their countenances were inflamed with rage, and their expressions stern and short, for they had then no time for idle shouts. I vainly endeavoured to discover from their hasty exclamations the object of the rising; I wearied

my mind in conjecturing the cause. The insurgents had already expelled the regular troops and had proclaimed the Infant King; the Imperialists had everywhere submitted to their dictation, and the Miguelists remained undisputed masters of the city. Against whom then was this furious ebullition directed? My blood froze as the only probable answer suggested itself to my mind. An attack on the prisons had long been threatened by the mob and dreaded by the authorities; for they were then overflowing with those real and supposed partisans of Don Pedro's cause, who had been arrested during that distracted time; and night after night the awful cry of "Death to the Prisoners" had been raised under the prison windows. The people were then probably directing their course to the great prison in the square, and when they had satiated their rage in the blood of its ill-fated inmates, would, I supposed, undoubtedly retrace their steps to the prison in which I was confined, and there renew the slaughterous work.

About this time the jailor entered my apartment to fetch a loose bar that was lying in a corner of the room. The old man was evidently possessed with the same belief; he was labouring

under extreme agitation, but said resolutely that he would fortify the prison doors, and defend them against the mob to the last extremity. I desired to know the immediate cause of the tumult, and he told me that the regular troops, expelled a few days before by the citizens, had re-entered Evora during the night, and had just been found by the astonished inhabitants drawn up in battle array in the heart of the city. Against these invaders the energies of the people were now directed, and if, as he anticipated, the issue of the struggle should prove disastrous to the Imperial troops, the prisons, so often menaced, would, he feared, become the scene of sanguinary excesses. He could not then delay, but said he would return in a short time and give me further tidings; he left me, but not as before to irksome solitude, for every faculty was engrossed by these momentous events.

A heavy discharge of musketry was followed by a complete cessation of every hostile sound, and then the tumult was renewed, and the cries of the people rose high above the roar of the combat. Had I been able even as a prisoner to behold the thrilling scene, a sense of personal danger would probably have been lost in the

deep interest inspired by such a struggle, but the iron bars of my grated window prevented me from looking down the street,—those bars which I never before viewed with feelings of such unbounded aversion. At this time the doors and windows on the opposite side of the street were closed, and the inhabitants were ranged on the balconies armed with missiles to pour down on the devoted troops. Even women shared the exasperation of the moment, and bearing jugs of hot water and scalding oil, prepared to assist their sons and husbands in the extermination of men whom they considered hostile to the altar and the throne.

I remained in a state of anxious suspense till my jailor returned, for, circumstanced as I was, life or death was apparently dependent on the issue of the struggle. At length re-entering the room he told me that victory was decidedly inclining to the popular party; they had taken the arsenal, and had plentifully supplied themselves with arms from its ample magazines, and were thus enabled to renew the contest on more equal terms. Again he left me, and another anxious pause ensued; but at his third and last visit he announced the total defeat of the regular troops,

who were only saved from utter destruction by the admirable conduct of their commanding officer.

Hemmed in by a resolved and overwhelming populace, attacked in front and rear, and from the houses above, unable to maintain their ground they yet succeeded in making good their retreat, after some gallant but ineffectual efforts to retrieve the day. After their expulsion from the city the disorders which had convulsed Evora, at the breaking out of the revolution, were renewed; the Imperialists were again assaulted in their houses, and the Corregidor, or civil Governor, whose comparative moderation had excited the hatred of the fanatics, was barbarously assailed, although himself sincerely attached to the Infant's cause. His coat was stabbed through in several places, and his life was only saved by the exertions of some faithful adherents; but he was degraded and deposed by general acclamation, and as they hurried him to a place of confinement, to preserve him from a worse fate, the mob repeatedly enjoined them to tear him limb from limb. Such was the fall of the Corregidor, who a short time before had signed the order by virtue of which I was then a prisoner. So rapid

is the march of revolution, so quickly does the condemner become the condemned.

A calm now prevailed, perhaps more awful than the dreadful din which had preceded it ; the streets were deserted, the ordinary business of life was suspended, the uproar of conflicting parties was unheard, for the assailants were engaged at the extremity of the city in pursuit of the retiring troops. It was an awful pause indeed, for I knew that the unnatural silence would soon be terminated by the murderous bands returning from the mortal struggle flushed with success and ripe for further outrage.

During that interval of fearful repose, I could not but feel that within the last few hours my prospects had become greatly overcast, my chances of safety sensibly diminished. I felt as a mariner wrecked on the Goodwin Sands, who, safe for the moment, awaits the gradual flow of that returning tide which must prove to him a watery grave ; for I found myself in that hopeless situation in which no efforts could profit me, no prudence lead to extrication, no courage be of any avail. . .

There, in my prison cell, if the sovereign people willed it, I must be coolly and deliberately

butchered without a weapon to save or to avenge, without a chance of preserving life by flight, or of prolonging it by manly resistance. In the nervous impatience of my feelings I almost wished to shorten my suspense, and to exchange the deadly calm which reigned around me for the furious assault which would soon, I was persuaded, be directed against the prison doors. But that Power "which can guide the whirlwind and direct the storm," and which in its wisdom so often baffles the calculations of men, be they for good or be they for evil, had otherwise decreed.

That calm, so strangely at variance with the general character of the time, was of some duration. The return of the conquering people was, at first, indicated by cries faintly heard in the distance, but deepening as they drew nearer, and at length sounding absolutely terrific; these were, however, only the expiring cries of exhausted passion, for rich in the spoils of the fallen arsenal, they passed beneath my windows, apparently worn out by their exertions, and showed no disposition to attack the prison, but passed sullenly by without a single menace.

Their exhaustion was so complete that during the rest of the day a death-like stillness pervaded

the populous city of Evora ; not a shout, not an exclamation, not even the common sounds of social life were heard ; but the ceaseless dash of the fountain playing in the adjacent street alone interrupted a silence which contrasted singularly with the stormy excitement of the morning.

Night came on, and an anxious night it was to every prisoner. The fall of the Corregidor had been chiefly owing to the efforts he had made to shield unoffending citizens from the lawless arrests of the mob, and to preserve those who were arrested from further violence. Our protector had now fallen, and, although we might indulge in hope, we had no longer any assurance of protection. Who, with the warning fate of the Corregidor before his eyes, would say to the unbridled multitude, "So far, no farther, shalt thou stray." The dragon was unchained ; might had vanquished right ; there was a power above the law, and, though fatigued and slumbering for the moment, we had every reason to apprehend that the spirit of popular vengeance would revive with the reviving energies of the people. But, contrary to the general expectation, the desire of shedding the blood of the prisoners decreased when every barrier to the perpetration of such an act was

removed; for, elated by their signal triumph over the troops, and gratified by the deposition of the obnoxious Corregidor, the leaders of the insurrection heard with less impatience the calm remonstrances of their superiors in station, and allowed the public feeling to take a better direction. Large bodies of men remained in the square for many hours after the conflict, and in the evening the peasantry formed companies selected from their own class, and afterwards regularly guarded the ramparts by day and night.

I have little more to record during the remaining days I spent in prison. One evening, when the room was darkened by the shades of approaching night, as I sat by the window listening to the perpetual chant in favour of Don Miguel, sung by the men, and echoed by the children, the door was opened, and letters were brought me from the British Embassy informing me of the decided interference of the British Ambassador in my behalf, accompanied by a message from the Mayor announcing the welcome intelligence of my actual liberation.

I instantly repaired to the town-hall, and requested him to issue an order for the release of Juan, who was confined in the great prison in

the square ; but the Mayor declined complying with my wishes, assigning no reason for his refusal, but only stating that he was detained by the will of the Intendant of Police and the superior authorities, by royal orders, by orders from the King, (for so Don Miguel was then styled at Evora). In short, it might have been inferred from his answer that all the royalty of Europe had conspired against the unfortunate Borderer. After some fruitless endeavours to persuade his inexorable Worship, I had a last and hurried interview with Juan in the prison, and then departed, resolved to renew my exertions in his behalf at Lisbon, where, after a long altercation with the Authorities, my remonstrances were crowned with success.

If I were asked what was the real character of the Borderer, I should answer, that during my long and frequent rambles I have rarely met the man with whom I have spent so much time, yet of whose real nature and designs I had finally so much doubt. He was vain-glorious, and boastful to a ridiculous extent, but was not, I think, deficient in real courage. His honesty was very questionable, for when I arrived at Lisbon, and examined the money concealed in the saddle, I

found a considerable deficit. It is true that my portmanteau had been pillaged at Evora, and that the saddle had remained without protection for a long time ; still I have difficulty in believing that, if the secret place had been discovered, any common plunderer would have been so moderate as to have taken only a portion of the spoil, during a period of such universal license, and when the chances of detection were so slight.

A little circumstance also during our journey excited some suspicion in my mind, though even now I hardly know in what light to consider it. As we were one morning riding through a defile, in one of the wildest and most uninhabited parts of Alentejo, he suddenly approached me, drawing nearer till our horses were abreast, and then asked me whether I had lost my eye-glass, saying he thought I had left it at the place where we had slept the preceding night.

There is occasionally among the inhabitants of the Peninsula, but especially among the Spaniards,* a sudden and apparently unaccountable transition from extreme blandness and courtesy of manner, to a startling ferocity of expression and abruptness of tone ; but I have observed

* Chiefly among the Valencians.

that this peculiar change of countenance and voice generally characterizes the accomplished villain, and is visible at the moment when he thinks he can safely throw off the mask, and give way to his native brutality.

Such a fierceness of expression and abruptness of voice I then remarked in the Borderer, symptoms which I had learnt to distrust, and which struck me as ominous; at that hasty and unexpected question I felt in my bosom for my glass, but kept my eye steadily fixed on Juan's right hand, which was in the pocket where I knew he carried fire arms, so that the least suspicious motion of his arm would have met with a corresponding movement on my part, and I should instantly have sprung forward and drawn forth my own pistol. If he really entertained any villainous project he saw me prepared, and therefore abandoned his intention. But the peculiarity of his manner, and the position of his hand, may have been purely accidental: still my suspicions were excited, and during the remainder of my journey I made him always ride before me, and never remain even for a moment in the rear; a precaution which I had adopted generally, though not invariably, in the earlier part of our expedition.

There was also something highly unsatisfactory in his mode of alluding to the past events of his life: he admitted that his former master had been murdered in his presence; and though he deprecated the act, I could not discover, even by his own version of the affair, that he had made the slightest effort to prevent it.

I have generally found these rough adventurers faithful and devoted, and, when our acquaintance has been of some duration, they have often become much attached to me, and have sometimes offered to leave their country, and follow my fortunes all over the world. I have, in consequence, frequently parted from them with regret, but I entertained no feeling of this kind for the Borderer. I may have done him wrong, but, in spite of my disinclination to distrust his fidelity, dark suspicions would at times irresistibly force themselves upon my mind. I had, however, no certain knowledge of any criminal intention on his part, and, as he had suffered in my service, I felt bound to exert myself to the utmost to procure his release.

Any man who has travelled much in wild countries, particularly in Spain, where the extremes of vice and virtue exist, will have found his observa-

tion of character rendered peculiarly acute by the emergencies arising from the insecure state of the country, and the consequent necessity of obtaining some insight into the intentions of the guides and adventurers upon whose fidelity his safety for the time essentially depends. A series of constant observations at length produces in the observer a rapid and almost intuitive recognition of character. In forming a general and hasty opinion of an individual, I have been sometimes guided by indications so trivial that I should have been almost ashamed of admitting that they could influence my conduct, although most unquestionably they had that effect; yet, practically, I was rarely deceived. During my early wanderings those indications would have passed, probably without notice, certainly without comment; but the necessity of scrutinizing the individuals to whose care I entrusted my safety, led me to connect particular symptoms with particular intentions and a particular state of mind; a peculiar mode of introducing subjects, a particular mode of questioning, a certain reserve, and sometimes even a certain frankness, an earnest look or even a pre-occupation of mind, have occasionally excited my suspicion; and latterly, I

seldom found that suspicion wholly destitute of foundation. It is true that men have great constitutional differences; some are frank, some reserved, all occasionally absent—and till we are acquainted with the temperament of the individual, it may be said that no fair conclusion can be drawn from such trivial circumstances. So I reasoned for a long time, but practically there was a certain frankness, there was a certain reserve, there was a certain absence, and even a certain earnestness, which I learned to distinguish as emanating from a person in some degree to be distrusted. I can hardly explain the difference of manner that was often perceptible between the honest man and the accomplished traitor, the shades in that state of society are often so indistinctly marked, the lines so finely drawn, but yet I was generally sensible of the difference, though Juan's case was certainly an exception. The truth of these observations will I am sure be admitted by every person who has travelled much in times and in a country requiring perpetual caution and habitual observation of character.

I have known persons who have endeavoured to ascertain the character of their guides, in very dangerous districts, by entering into conversation

with them upon points connected with their doubts, and thus endeavouring to infer from their manner the truth or the mistaken nature of their suspicions; but men will frequently come to a false conclusion by this mode of proceeding. A man conscious of his integrity will either betray embarrassment or testify displeasure, or show something like ridicule at the anxiety of his inquirer, if he have any clue to his motives, or perceive the drift of his questions; in short, he will manifest emotion of some kind which the superficial observer attributes to a source from which it does not proceed. Your cool, insinuating, pleasant guide, who deprecates treachery in fluent language, and with a cool, unembarrassed manner, is often the man to be really dreaded and suspected; and his intentions can only be inferred by indications of a very different character.

On the following morning I went to the inn, and, desiring the muleteer to load the mules, employed the interval in taking a hasty view of the cathedral, which is Gothic, but has little claims to beauty; the altar is, however, built in the Italian style, extremely rich, and decorated with various marbles. I also visited the ruins of a temple, supposed to have been dedicated to

the goddess Diana, and which still boasts some noble columns, evidently raised during the best period of Roman architecture; at one moment I intended to inspect the Bishop's library and the museum, said to be the finest in Portugal, but feeling the imprudence of exposing myself too much to the public observation at such a time, I returned to the inn. The events that were there occurring proved the justice of my apprehension, and showed the precarious tenure on which I enjoyed my newly-recovered liberty. The inn-keeper, vexed at the removal of the mules, whose maintenance had been very profitable to him, declared he would not allow them to depart unless positive instructions to that effect were forwarded to him from the Mayor. Several persons, who happened to be in the court at the time, took his part when they learnt my name, and as a crowd, attracted by the noise, began to collect, I was strongly advised to prevent a recurrence of any unpleasant scenes by again taking refuge in the prison. Thither I repaired most reluctantly, and from thence I addressed a strong remonstrance to the Mayor, calling upon him to give effect to the instructions of his Government by issuing the necessary

orders; but that officer was either unwilling or unable to enforce his authority, and chose rather to attain his object by the gradual process of entreaty than by direct command. I was, in consequence, compelled to pass the remainder of that day and the ensuing night in my old apartment at the prison, from which, in the disempered state of the public mind, I did not again venture to sally till I quitted Evora entirely. Towards dusk on the following evening I left the prison for the last time. As I crossed the threshold I saw my fair friend, whom I had so often beheld from my grated windows, standing on the balcony; I bowed, and she returned the salutation gracefully, but every other countenance was scowling and distrustful, as I mounted my horse and left this inhospitable city; none there "the parting hand extended gave,"—none wished the stranger a safe journey and a glad return,—and no kindly voice exclaimed "God bless him!"

The high towers of Evora faded in the distance. I had intended to have visited Elvas, a fortress of great national importance, but could not deviate from the route prescribed by the authorities, my passport being made out for Lisbon

in the name of the King, Don Miguel the First, although he had not yet assumed the crown. It was, I believe, the first passport drawn up in that form, and was, as such, alluded to in the debates that took place on the affairs of Portugal in the British House of Commons.

I slept that evening at a solitary inn. At Montemor I met a Juiz de Fora, recently appointed to the magistracy of Elvas, to which town he was travelling escorted by seven soldiers, as the road was said to be infested by robbers, and accompanied by a young and blooming bride, scarcely seventeen years of age, whose raven locks contrasted well with the alabaster whiteness of her skin, and whose dark eyes were full of fire. I spent the night at Selveira, where I was amused by the energetic feeling displayed in the Infant's cause by a handsome young woman, as she was chopping a block of wood with considerable force near the kitchen fire: "Even thus," she said, "I should like to cut off the heads of all who deny the divine mission of Miguel." "The divine mission!" I answered, laughingly; "would it not be enough to admit his divine right? If I denied his divine mission would you cut off my head?" "Willingly," she

replied with animation, "if you were such an unbeliever; but you are not, surely?" "Surely you do not deny the divine mission of our blessed Miguel?" re-echoed the lady mother, approaching me with a most sinister expression of countenance. I was hungry, and therefore mean-spirited; accordingly I acquiesced in the established creed, for I knew that any manifestation of heterodox opinions on the subject of Miguel's divinity would be followed by a supperless retreat to bed. Entering the kitchen on the following morning, I saw two convivial friars demolishing a coarse but substantial breakfast, and the old woman waiting upon them, and evidently rejoicing in their inordinate appetite. She required me to pay three times as much for my breakfast as she charged the reverend Fathers, although the quality of the provisions was the same, and the quantity they consumed far greater; and yet her charge to me was not high, but was rather extravagantly low to them; a liberality on her part the result of strong religious feeling, for she must have been a loser by their visit to her inn. One of the priests conversed with me very cordially till he discovered me to be an Englishman, but then became extremely shy and reserved.

On the following morning I continued my journey, and passed several wild-looking men, who appeared to be compounded of the beggar and marauder, and were probably roused into unusual activity by the circumstances of the times. A curious superstition attaches to this rambling race in those parts of Alentejo where the little landholders dwell in isolated houses upon their estates. When a child is born, crowds of wild-looking beggars assemble from different, and even remote parts of the great Alentejo wastes, and collect around the house; barefooted, and occasionally bareheaded, they frequently carry devotional pictures in their hands, and sometimes a charm or talisman in the bosom. If invited to partake of the good man's cheer, they heap innumerable blessings on his infant heir; but if the door is sternly closed against their intrusion, they successively approach the inhospitable threshold, denounce the guiltless object of the day's rejoicing, and consign their victim to an early grave, or to a lengthened life of sorrow. In some parts of the district, a christening concluded without their presence and approval is considered by the superstitious inhabitants as fearfully incomplete, and even by

strong minded men as wanting in a kind of moral sanction. The mother dreads the scowl of a rejected wanderer of the wild; his curses, sometimes defied though never disregarded, return in seasons of domestic grief with all the terror of their original impression. Years afterwards, the conscience stricken parent, seated by her drooping child, hears on the midnight blast the voice that warned her of her present woe, and sees again the evil eye that froze the current of his blood, and numbered his young days; and as the terrible remembrance wakes, her hopes decline; her care abates under the certainty of a predestined doom, and thus the prophecy works out its own fulfilment.

At Pegoinés we heard formidable accounts of the banditti that infested a forest through which we were obliged to pass. On the preceding day they had attacked a gentleman's carriage and fired upon the escort, who, alarmed by this uncourtous reception, disappeared with all the pomp of war, abandoning the gentleman and his treasures to the foe; of these the first, and probably the least valuable, they spared, the latter they secured.

The road from Pegoinés traversed for many

miles plains covered with heath and cistus. At length we reached the fearful forest, which was chiefly composed of pine trees; it was sad and dark, and appeared a scene well calculated for robber exploits. Behind the crumbling walls of a ruined house the banditti had lain in ambush on the preceding day, and, safe themselves from any danger of reprisal, had fired upon the travellers. The muleteer pointed out the dreaded spot, which was only a few steps from the road, but uttered not a word, and only waved his hand as a signal to press forward, so much he feared to hear some startling summons from the brake, or to see it suddenly become alive with armed men. The forest can generally be passed in safety, and the actual danger was owing to the distracted state of the times, the gang being chiefly composed of political outlaws. Indeed, highway robberies, so frequent in Spain, are in Portugal of rare occurrence, except in parts of Alentejo; but the man from whom I hired my mules was understood to have a secret understanding with most of the bands dispersed over that province, in virtue of which they abstained from plundering his muleteers and the persons who travelled with them.

At length we emerged from the wood, and continued our journey between hedges of alders, which formed a dense canopy over head with their rich foliage and intermingling branches, and cast a deep shade on the road. We afterwards rode through an open country to Aldea Gallega, where I met a militia-man, who, according to his own account, was on duty at Evora on the day of my arrest, and was now proceeding to Lisbon with the deputation appointed by the insurgents to wait on the Infant and explain the cause and nature of the late revolution. He said that he belonged to the Montero party, and had spared no exertions on my behalf, but I had no recollection of the man, and could, therefore, neither confirm nor deny his statement. A couple of crusados by no means tended to diminish his zeal in my cause, and he left the apartment abusing the Authorities who had committed me, and the people who had urged my committal, and vehemently lauding—gentle reader—your humble servant, the Absolute King, and all the other good things of this wicked world.

On the following day we embarked for Lisbon, but were encountered by a hurricane, which drove us to Alcantara. We, however, subsequently

effected a landing at the Black Horse Square, where I met my friend Mr. Forbes, who informed me that the Corps 'Diplomatique had suspended their functions. I went to my former lodgings in the Caes do Sodre, and was received with pleasure by my worthy landlord Bento, who reinstated me in my old apartments.

So terminated an expedition fraught with interest, full of varying incident, attended with difficulty and danger, and singularly disastrous towards its close. The most sumptuous and the scantiest fare had been alternately my lot; the Republican and the Ultra-Royalist, the peasant, the priest, and the noble, successively my hosts; my race had been run through sunshine and through storm, amid the greatest warmth of apparent friendship, and the utmost violence of real hate; the heated room and the luxurious couch, the hard plank and the cold night air of heaven, the palace and the prison, I had alternately experienced in rapid revolution. In the morning I frequently knew not where I could rest my head at eve in safety, and I often lay down to rest without any certainty of passing the night uninterrupted by alarm. * * *

I remained in Portugal only a few days after

my return to the capital. During my tour through the southern provinces many important events had occurred: the revolution in Don Miguel's favour had made considerable progress, and he had been actually proclaimed King in Lisbon, Oporto, Evora, Faro, and all the great towns of the kingdom. Supported by these manifestations of the popular feeling he had issued a decree convoking the Three Estates, for the purpose of determining the succession to the throne, and had by that act virtually abolished the Constitution.

The consequent suspension of the diplomatic functions infused a momentary hope into the bosoms of the dispirited Imperialists; the extensive changes recently effected in the regiments that occupied Lisbon, the dismissal of the Constitutionals, and promotion of Miguelist officers, had destroyed their hopes of organizing any plan of successful resistance to the Government; but the regular troops, stationed in the northern districts, were still commanded by their former Colonels, retained their attachment to Don Pedro, and were quite disposed to turn their arms against his opponents. Many individuals at Lisbon knew that the clouds were

gathering, and that the storm would burst at Oporto.

I had accidentally heard of the intention. Day after day I expected to hear that the strife had begun, and although personally unconcerned in the event, and taking no part whatever in the plots of that distracted period, it was not without a fearful interest that I listened for the distant howlings of the gale which would, I knew, at length break in upon the hollow tranquillity of the time. It was I believe at one moment intended to place the late Infanta Regent at the head of the insurrection, or at least to commence operations under the sanction of her name, and the Government appears to have had some vague suspicions of the scheme, as two curious manifestos appeared in the gazette. In the first, Don Miguel declared his sister's abhorrence "of the machinations, plotted in the dark caverns, for the subversion of all that is good and established on the face of the earth;" and in the second, the Princess confirmed his statement.

After an interview with the Minister of foreign affairs, and many discussions with the Police, assisted by Sir Frederick Lamb, who maintained our British privileges with British firmness, I

succeeded in obtaining an order for Juan's release. My last visit was paid to the Condé de Linhares, one of the most talented members of the extinguished House of Peers; after which I took leave of my excellent landlady Mrs. Bento, and her pretty daughter, and about midnight entered a boat accompanied by my landlord, who had consented to act as my servant *pro tempore*; and accompany me to England.

We had scarcely seated ourselves, before a lad, about eighteen or nineteen years of age, rushed from the house, and threw himself into Bento's arms, exclaiming, as the tears rolled rapidly down his cheeks, "My master, my dear master, why are you going to leave us?" Bento, who was himself much affected, endeavoured to console his servant, with many expressions of kindness.

Feelings of this kind would hardly in England have existed between persons standing in the relative position of master and apprentice, or if indeed they had existed, those nicely regulated notions of what is required by the gradual subordination of ranks, which pervade every class of English society, from the highest to the lowest, would not have permitted their unrestrained expression on the one hand, or their free and

cordial reception on the other. Still this little incident prepossessed me highly in favour of the lad, whose fidelity to his master appeared so devoted, and of the master whose kindly disposition had excited such grateful feelings in the bosom of his dependant.

I was unwilling to quit the country without bidding farewell to my gallant friend Sartorius, so I rowed to the *Pyramus*, and found Lord Frederick Beauclerk on deck, keeping the midnight watch. The Captain, roused from his slumbers, received me with a countenance expressive of the deepest sympathy, for he was fully prepared to find in his nocturnal visitor some unfortunate emigrant arrived at that unseasonable hour to claim his protection.

I passed the night in a comfortable hammock on board the *Pyramus*, and on the following morning at break of day embarked on board the *Stanmer* packet, commanded by Captain Sutton. My only fellow-passenger, Senhor Jose Candido Xavier (since dead), was a person of great attainments, and much distinguished by the prominent part he had taken in Portuguese affairs. He had discharged, at the same time, the separate

duties of Minister for the war and for the foreign departments, and was high in office when the Infant arrived.

Since the period to which I am now alluding, the important question which then agitated men's minds in Portugal has been brought to an issue. Great changes have taken place in the dramatis personæ, time has removed the hostile brothers the victor and the vanquished, from the stage; Don Miguel is an exile, Don Pedro dead. In touching upon some of the circumstances which led to the present state of things, I have endeavoured to speak of parties and events with perfect impartiality. Our interposition had at that period very much alienated the Miguelists from the English; but although I lived much more with the Imperialists at Lisbon than with their opponents, my opinions were not warped by this circumstance; I deprecate the severe and injudicious policy pursued by Don Miguel on his return to Portugal, but I must not, in justice, withhold from his party the praise which is unquestionably their due. As a party, they were brave, sincere, high-principled, attached to their religion, and to the old institutions of the country.

The honourable fidelity with which they adhered to the fortunes of their Prince during the extremity of his reverses, and the unhesitating devotion with which men in the enjoyment of all the luxuries of life sacrificed every earthly possession in his cause, are circumstances that reflect upon them imperishable credit; but their virtues could not redeem his errors, or repair the calamities entailed upon their families and their country by his misjudging policy. In the provinces I found men of both parties anxious to facilitate my journey and to show me personal attention. Even at Evora, the Authorities of the city, fairly borne down by the popular feeling, and trembling for their own existence, were, I think, really unwilling to impede my journey, and, with the exception of one individual, showed no disposition to aggravate the rigour of my confinement.

The rain fell heavily as we sailed down the Tagus. I looked for the last time at Lisbon, beautiful even through her tears. I gazed earnestly on her convents, her palaces, and her orange gardens, and sighed as I remembered the pleasant hours which I had spent among their light-hearted inmates, and thought upon "the

thousand heavy times which might befall them now."

At length we were fairly on the main ocean: the wind was blowing furiously from the south, the gallant ship running before the gale at the rate of twelve knots an hour, and the sea was so stormy that a single wave breaking over the gibboom, divided it as if it were a thread. During that day, and the following night, I was confined to my berth by continual sickness; but, becoming accustomed to the rocking of the ship, went on deck the second evening as the shades of night stole over the tempestuous bay; and that bay in its wrathful mood is as proud a sight as the eye of man can seek to gaze upon!

There I stood till a late hour, watching the towering waves as they came driving against our stern, and listening with pleasure to their incessant dash, and to the creaking of the rigging, and to the wind moaning among the high shrouds. The hurricane blew steadily in one direction, and without intermission for three days, and only slackened a few hours before the termination of our voyage, which was prosperous, and almost the shortest upon record.

Early on the morning of the fourth day we

hailed the Lizard Point: my long wanderings, the fatigues of my solitary expeditions, and the perils of revolution, were all forgotten as I trod once more upon the soil of native, peaceful, and then unreformed England!

CHAPTER XIII.

SPAIN.

REVIEW OF THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STATE OF THE BASQUE PROVINCES: WITH A FEW REMARKS ON RECENT EVENTS IN SPAIN.

TILL the commencement of the present year, the real state of the Carlist power in the northern provinces of Spain, was matter of very general uncertainty. The military strength actually arrayed under the standard of Don Carlos, the discipline maintained in his army, the degree of attachment felt by the people of the country for his cause, and the fate of his arms in the various encounters with the Queen's troops, were most imperfectly known in this country. The insurgents were long represented by our Ministers, and by the ministerial journals, as little better than banditti; and the public, under the natural impression that our Government had at least some vague and general knowledge of the forces against which they were directing the

energies of this country, acquiesced, at first, in their version of Spanish affairs. But, as time elapsed, and the civil war continued, the warmest supporters of the ministerial policy became unable to reconcile the statements of our Government with the events that were hourly occurring in Spain. Men, indeed, who had lived in Biscay, solved the apparent contradiction, by coming to the just conclusion, that the Government were wholly unacquainted with the subject on which they uttered prophecies, so quickly, and so completely to be disproved; but it was not till Captain Henningsen's work appeared, that the cloud of misrepresentation was cleared away from the eyes of the British public. The detailed information which he communicated, at once accounted for the continuance of the struggle; he traced the insurrection from its commencement; he showed the progressive increase of the Carlist power, and first made generally known the startling fact, that every army which the Queen had sent into the Basque provinces had been successively defeated by the determination of an almost unanimous people.

Mr. Honan's work has still more recently appeared, and indisputably proves, that since the

gallant Officer's return from the seat of war, the resources of the Carlists have augmented, the range of the insurrection has become materially extended, and that, at present, their operations are conducted on a greater scale, and their adherents are more numerous and more sanguine of success. His statements are completely borne out, not only by the general progress of the revolt in Aragon, Valentia, and other provinces, and by the continued reverses of the Queen's troops, but by the useless and inglorious triumph of the British legion at St. Sebastian, their utter failure at Fontarabia, and their long subsequent inaction.

These writers have shown, ably and effectively, the actual condition of the belligerent parties. I am anxious to call the attention of my readers to another part of the same picture, and briefly to examine the causes of that extraordinary ferment of the popular mind, which has enabled the Biscayans to resist, successfully, the whole weight of the Spanish Government, to render useless the active though indirect co-operation of France, and to make the British arms, almost for the first time in the history of this country, acquainted with dishonour and defeat. I must

first, however, touch hastily on events that occurred some years ago in Spain, but which, in their consequences, have affected considerably the politics of the day.

I have already alluded to the two great insurrections which agitated Spain in the years 1822 and 1827. The great northern insurrection of 1822 originated, as I have previously stated, in the chivalrous indignation excited by the oppressive treatment of the Sovereign, the persecution of the priesthood, and the unwise attempt, on the part of the Government, to abolish the old names and the ancient limits of the provinces—names and limits justly dear to the people, and inseparably blended with all their traditional recollections of Spanish honour and glory.

Servile imitators of the French Revolution, the legislators of that period had not the sagacity to adapt their institutions to the condition of the people, but determined that public opinion should bend to their unpopular schemes; and, as if the outrages inflicted on a beloved and respected clergy, as if the spoliation of the Church property, till then deemed sacred, would not sufficiently exasperate a people fanatically at-

tached to their religious teachers, the Cortes of 1821 proceeded to degrade the Saints in every town and village of the kingdom, to efface their names from the streets and squares, and substitute new and revolutionary designations; thus filling up, in the opinion of the Spanish peasantry, the measure of their iniquities—not only persecuting the Ministers of God on earth, but insulting the hierarchy of heaven.

These were measures based on a deplorable ignorance of human nature, and originating in an arrogant contempt for the popular prejudices and the national religion. It was not difficult, indeed, to grieve the spirit of a moral and religious peasantry, but far less easy to root out the memory of past observances, or erase the faith of centuries from the bosom of the people. The bloody wave of Constitutional persecution broke, in vain, upon the rock of the national faith.

The Catalan revolt of 1827 was very much produced by the unavenged atrocities perpetrated in Catalonia by the Constitutional leaders, and sanctioned by the Constitutional government of 1822. The authors of the second Catalan insurrection had the acuteness to perceive that the Constitutional party, though at

that period comparatively quiescent, might resume a dangerous ascendancy under the influence of more propitious circumstances; but they had not the judgment to feel that the time was singularly unfavourable to the extension of the despotic principle. In 1827 the secret views and intentions of the Constitutionalists were unquestionably hostile to the system then in force, and a very suspicious intercourse was carrying on in the frontier provinces with the Spanish refugees in Portugal. Still the general conduct of that party, scarcely justified, at that moment, any extraordinary measures of severity, and certainly not an attempt to strengthen the arm of the law at the expense of a revolution. Besides, the attempt to elevate Don Carlos to the throne in the life-time of the reigning Sovereign was manifestly illegal, was abhorrent to the principles of the party through whose co-operation only it could have been effected, and was solely maintained for a short time by a system of deception which never could have become general, and which failed completely, even in the heart of the insurgent country, when unmasked.

The attempt was sure to stimulate the secret

jealousy so often felt by the reigning Sovereign towards the heir presumptive to the Crown. The comparison implied by the proposed substitution of his Brother, was certain to disgust him with the High Church party, and pave the way for measures likely to conciliate their opponents, and depress a power which had mortified his vanity, and been armed against his real authority. Nor did this attempt fail of producing its natural effect.

The King was deeply offended with the Carlist party of that day, and secretly alienated from his Brother, whose noble conduct, in a delicate and painful situation, would have excited in a more generous mind emotions of gratitude and affection.

Don Carlos disavowed all connexion with the insurgents: he reprobated their schemes, and, scorning the selfish policy, so frequently pursued by statesmen in difficult situations, of temporizing with both parties, and extracting the utmost amount of personal advantage from the circumstances they profess to deprecate, he chose the straight and narrow way of manly behaviour, and asserted his Royal Brother's rights without equivocation or reserve.

In 1833 the King died. The powerful influence of the Queen, unceasingly exerted in favour of the young Princess, co-operating with a jealousy of his Brother, heightened, if not created, by the ill-judged insurrection of 1827, and not altogether eradicated by that Brother's noble conduct, induced the King, after much hesitation, and frequent change of purpose, to nominate, on his death-bed, a female to the throne, and thus bequeath a civil war to the country.

I shall not here investigate the delicate question of the succession,—that point has been discussed by writers on both sides of the question, and, as far as Don Carlos's claims are concerned, most amply, and in a pamphlet of great power, by Mr. Walton. My object is rather to describe the state of parties that has prevailed for some years past in Spain, the varying feelings that have grown up with the varying circumstances of the country, and the degree to which those feelings and that state of things are affecting the present contest.

When King Ferdinand died, the nation was much divided in opinion upon the succession. The Constitutionalists warmly pro-

fessed their allegiance to the Queen, from a well-grounded conviction that the questionable nature of her daughter's title would eventually compel her to look to them for assistance, and consequently embrace their views, although her natural disposition and original intentions indisposed her to such an alliance.

On the other hand, many persons of moderate opinions were disgusted by the mode in which the nomination of the infant Princess had been effected, and by the circumstances with which it was attended; while the greater portion of that considerable party, which adhered to the ancient institutions of the country, beheld with indignation the sudden change effected in the succession—denied, with Spanish pride, that the allegiance of the nation could be transferred at the beck of any individual,—maintained that the ancient kingdom of Spain could not be disposed of as a private estate,—declared the Princess's appointment an infraction of the Treaty of Utrecht, and looked upon the royal testament as the result of a conspiracy to defraud the rightful heir, and of an unworthy influence exercised upon the almost unconscious mind of the dying King.

But, in spite of the irritation generated in the minds of a large party by the transaction in question, unless the Carlists or Royalists had been enabled to muster a majority in support of their cause, so effective, not only from numbers, but also from union and organization, as to have crushed at once the claims of the infant Princess, the Queen's party were sure, under the circumstances of the moment, to retain the ascendancy.

They were not only in possession of supreme power at the critical period of the royal demise, but had administered the government for a considerable time previous to that event; they were therefore fully prepared for the coming emergency, and all the resources of the state had been long directed to the attainment of a single object. During the King's last illness large gifts were bestowed on the wavering, and larger promises made. Devoted adherents of the Queen were promoted to every department, both civil and military, and the co-operation of the army was secured.

But in spite of these precautions the standard of insurrection was erected in the northern provinces of Spain when the King died. It was

argued for a long time in this country that the Queen's government was generally beloved, because, during the early period of the struggle, the insurrection did not materially exceed the limits of the Basque provinces and Navarre. Unquestionably, particular causes connected with their political and social system peculiarly indisposed the Basques to the Christino government; but it was rather illogical to suppose that her Majesty had any real hold upon the affections of the people generally, because in other parts of the country they were not in open arms against her authority. The amount of popularity enjoyed by a government in disturbed times cannot be precisely determined by the extent of insurrection, which usually depends, and, I may say, always in Spain, on causes by no means obvious in the first moment of inquiry.

The Royalists, restrained by the honourable scruples of Don Carlos from asserting his claims, at a time when the army was officered by men devoted to his cause, were unable to resist a Government which had been permitted to adapt their measures to the coming struggle, and which was consequently, when the late King

died, provided with the means essential to the maintenance of their position, and backed by all the resources of the State. Disorganized, and to a great extent paralyzed by the circumstances in which they were placed, the Carlists felt the danger of their position, and therefore the expediency of concealing their sentiments, a caution peculiarly advisable in Spain; for, strange as it may seem to the more moral politicians of the north, it has been the policy of the Spanish Constitutional Governments of 1822 and of the present day, to tolerate the worst excesses of the populace against men suspected of no active interference in public matters, far less of any positive offence against the State, but convicted, in their opinion, of entertaining a secret and unpardonable attachment to the old institutions of the country. The local authorities, complying with the wishes rather than with the instructions of their superiors, refuse to investigate the disorders, and the Government either passes over in silence or coldly deplores in some official document the excesses it has really encouraged. To suppose that the power of the Royalists was extinguished, or the Queen's Government popular, because the Carlist strength was not actively

developed in every province of the kingdom, was an inference wholly unsupported by the historical experience of the country.

In 1822 and 1823 the eastern provinces of Spain were in arms against the Government of the Cortes; other parts of the kingdom were occasionally disturbed by popular tumults, and even by partial revolutions, both in the democratic and in the Royalist sense, but no other insurrection of any magnitude at that time divided the attention of the Government. The general inference drawn in England from this state of things appeared in the conversation of the day. The war announced by the French Government was stigmatized both in and out of the British Parliament, not only as an act of unjust interference, but of positive suicide. Sagacious men, well-wishers to the French Government, deplored their policy as fraught, in the apparent temper of the Spanish people, with imminent danger to the French Monarchy; and many of the liberal party scarcely disguised their exultation, because they read, or rather thought they read, in the proclamation of war the death-warrant of the Bourbon dynasty. A war of years was expected, and forebodings

that the French army was destined a second time to defeat on the fields of Spain were eagerly entertained. At length the French Court itself became so much alarmed by the growth of this belief among men of all parties, that if the Spanish Cortes would have afforded them, in the eleventh hour, an honourable pretext for retreat, hostilities would not have occurred. Never were expectations so falsified by the result. The constitutional troops forgot their intended acts of heroism; the universal defection of the clergy was followed by an almost unanimous declaration of the nobles against the Government; the peasantry were nearly united to a man, and a few deserted orators alone displayed in Cortes a courage which would have been more serviceable in the field. Such was the issue of that war, and such the far-famed strength and popularity of the Government of that day, a strength and popularity erroneously inferred from the apparent submission of the great body of the people to their constitutional rulers.

The events which have marked the progress of the actual struggle are not more favourable to the Queen's cause. During three years of profound external peace, the arms and resources

of the Spanish Monarchy have made no sensible impression on the revolted provinces; its best-appointed armies have been baffled, and its ministers, in the extremity of their fears, have repeatedly solicited assistance from the French and English Governments. These are not the usual symptoms of internal strength, this is not "the honour, love, obedience—troops of friends" that wait upon a really popular Government. If an insurrection were at this moment agitating the Highlands of Scotland; if his Majesty's Ministers had ineffectually endeavoured to repress it, directing the undivided resources of the State to the attainment of that single object during two consecutive years, and at length applied to France, frankly admitting that in their own Sovereign's dominions they could not restore the public peace without the co-operation of foreign bayonets, I think he would be gifted with a lively faith indeed, who could suppose that the British Government enjoyed, in any great degree, the confidence and esteem of its own subjects.

But the case does not rest here. France, England, and Portugal have answered the appeal, and have combined, more or less directly,

to assist the Queen, yet, in spite of their united efforts, the Carlist insurrection has increased; and as the resistance to her authority becomes more widely diffused, and assumes a more decided character, our Ministers evince an increasing resolution to interfere with the internal arrangements, and to control the free decision of a people proverbially tenacious of foreign interposition.

Under what influence and by what means was the constitutional party in Spain raised to their present power from the deep depression under which they laboured in 1827? This change was effected by events which a few years before could not have been anticipated, and when foreseen could not be counteracted by the Royalists in a country circumstanced as Spain. When the expiring King reversed the actual order of succession, and bequeathed the kingdom to his daughter, he sacrificed to parental love the permanent interests of the throne. The Crown was armed against itself; the Crown alone could have inflicted such an incurable wound upon the royal interests, for by that act the very loyalty of the Spaniards became subservient to the views of the democracy, and was, to a great degree, enlisted with the King against the

throne; that loyalty induced many sincere friends of the Monarchy to respect the King's testament, and to acquiesce in an arrangement evidently fraught with eventual danger, if not ruin, to the royal prerogative.

Had not a question of disputed succession introduced a powerful element of discord among men previously united in general opinion, the Constitutionalists, still oppressed by the unpopularity resulting from their mingled tyranny and failure, when in power, could not have endangered, by any civil disturbances, either the prerogatives of the Crown or the old institutions of the country; but when the loyalty of the nation was divided, that party which adhered to the ancient system and was irresistible when united, gave way under the pressure of a faction less numerous, less rooted in opinion, and less generally influential, but now linked with the Government, assisting the Government for the advancement of their own particular views, and in return supported by the Government, not from principle, not from inclination, but from the conscious weakness of the Queen's title, and from the absolute necessity of obtaining, upon any terms, their zealous co-operation.

The result of such an alliance in the peculiar state of parties and circumstances could not be doubtful; as the court, embarrassed by the progress and increasing determination of the civil war, became each day more helpless, each day the Constitutionals regained a portion of their former power; as the Regent relied more exclusively on their assistance, the revolutionary schemes became more unfolded and more certain of accomplishment; as her authority became more firmly established upon the ruins of the Carlists, so in exact proportion the prospects of the Crown declined, and not only of the Crown, but of the Church, and all the old interests of the country. If revenge could compensate for loss of power, Don Carlos is already well avenged; for even if the constitutional arms prevail, the Regent, at the expiration of her term of power, will probably resign to her daughter a throne divested of every prop that renders it secure, and of every jewel that can give it lustre.

The revolution that has restored the Constitutionals to office, and is practically destroying the royal authority, by transferring the real power of the state from the Crown to a party, by feeling and by principle, hostile

to royalty, could not have been produced, at the period of the late king's death, by any popular movement, scarcely by any act not emanating from the throne. The popular excesses, recently committed in so many parts of Spain, do not belie this assertion. A majority, in many places deprived of their arms, almost everywhere without union and fearful of exciting suspicion by any appearance of combination, is naturally unable to resist an organised minority panting for plunder and revenge, secretly encouraged by the authorities, and therefore secure of impunity. Unassisted by the Government, there was no power in the popular party to overturn the ancient system when King Ferdinand died; because, in spite of the previous calamities of his reign, there was, at that time, a slow but growing improvement visible in the general transactions of the country, and, in consequence, there existed no desire for material change in the great body of the people. A military insurrection might, indeed, as in 1820, have overpowered the executive, and restored the Constitutionalists to a precarious authority.

The revolution of 1820 was not occasioned by any popular sympathies between the troops and

the people, but grew out of an irritation, partly arising from the irregularity of their pay, and still more from their extreme disinclination to encounter the hardships of a South American expedition. That revolution was not the child of freedom, but the licentious offspring of military insubordination. Such an event, produced by similar circumstances, might have again occurred; but the presence of some hundred thousand Royalist volunteers, dispersed over the country, and devoted to the Crown, would have rendered such an event hardly probable; nor is it likely that, after the warning lesson of 1820, the Government would have again provoked the troops; or that the troops, after the inglorious failure of their first experiment, would have been easily disposed to renew the attempt.

But an event not very likely to have taken place a second time, under the old Government, may possibly occur under the altered circumstances of the country. If, then, during the continuance of the actual struggle, any considerable portion of the military should become alienated from the existing Government, either by real or imagined neglect, or by measures of ill-timed retrenchment; if, in short, the

Constitutional Government repeat that happy policy of converting friends into enemies, which turned, in 1822, the arms of the royal guards against the Cortes, in the heart of the capital, and nearly subverted their authority ; if disgust at their repeated disasters, strengthened by that feeling which so often inclines men to espouse the winning side, should shake the fidelity of the Constitutional officers, and increase the existing spirit of desertion among the men ; if any contingencies of this kind should occur, Don Carlos might be unexpectedly strengthened by the accession of the greater part of the military force of the kingdom ; and I believe that we should then see renewed, as in 1823, the triumphant march of the Royalist troops to the capital, and the Royalist power established, without any very serious and protracted effort in the country to resist his claims.

Don Carlos has, I believe, in his favour a passive majority of the Spanish population : he has a portion of that people, enthusiastically attached to his cause ; but, at the same time, there is a powerful party in the towns, and a considerable share of their wealth, arrayed against him ; and, in Spain, the want of roads,

the length of time occupied in travelling from one part of the country to another, the comparatively limited intercourse which takes place between the inhabitants of the different provinces, however favourable, in some respects, to the temporary success of a local revolt, yet render it extremely difficult for a rural party to establish any uniform and extended plan of action, or any system of organization so effective as to compete with the machinery of a regular government.

The zeal of the peasantry, their quickness in giving information to one party, their wilful ignorance when questioned by the other, and their general readiness to encounter any hazard in support of a cause to which they are sincerely attached, in some degree smooth these difficulties all over the kingdom, and to a very great extent indeed in those provinces which have become the seat of the civil war; but yet it is not easy to convey intelligence of passing events to distant parts of the kingdom with the speed requisite; and simultaneous risings, the soul and essence of successful insurrection, can, in consequence, be rarely carried into effect.

Many partial revolts in different parts of the kingdom, the effects of a wide-spread disaffec-

tion, have marked the progress of the struggle against the Queen's authority. Had these irregular efforts taken place at a given moment, they would probably have been decisive of the contest; but occurring independently of each other, they were put down in detail, were scarcely known beyond the limits of the particular district, and exercised no real influence on the fortunes of the war.

Unquestionably this is a state of things in some degree militating against the eventual success of an insurrectionary war in Spain; but there is a circumstance in the struggle now carrying on which stamps it with a peculiar character, separates it from the many revolts which have hitherto disturbed that ill-fated country, and may produce results which a mere comparison of the means and resources possessed by the conflicting parties might not lead us to expect. I mean the presence and the character of that individual whom, right or wrong, a large part of the Spanish population acknowledge as their lawful King. Whilst Don Carlos remains at the head of the insurrection, the insurgents will not abandon him, and the loyalty of the Spaniard, not as in England a calm and rea-

soning though decided habit of the mind, but an overwhelming and absorbing passion, may baffle all previous calculation, and confound all superiority of adverse force. Such may be the result of the present conflict: that such will be the issue is the opinion of that able officer and intelligent writer Captain Henningsen, who, lately returned from Spain, is decidedly of opinion that, however arduous the struggle may be, Don Carlos will eventually obtain the ascendancy.

I will now enter somewhat more directly into the immediate causes of the civil war. Unquestionably, in the revolted provinces a conviction of the validity of the Infant's claim is widely prevalent. However diffused that opinion may be over other parts of Spain, the dread of the Government, the want of system and arrangement, and a consciousness of that deficiency, have paralyzed the Royalists, and they have remained, as the Constitutionalists in 1827, comparatively quiet, waiting events. In Navarre and the Basque provinces the defensible nature of the country, and the almost undivided feeling of the population, suggested a more warlike policy. It is no easy matter for the general reader to connect their chivalrous affec-

tion for Don Carlos with the strong attachment felt for their provincial rights ; but their Sovereign and their privileges are inseparably united in their opinion, for those privileges were formerly rescued from aggression by his determined interference * ; and recently, when their Prince became an exile, their rights were not endangered but destroyed.

A cautious Government would have acted with equity and kindness towards a people so affected, but the Queen's ministers seemed determined to goad them into rebellion by the criminal violation of those ancient and undoubted rights, which her Princely and more politic opponent had the wisdom and justice to protect.

I know it is sometimes said that the Basques are not contending for their privileges ; and, in confirmation of this statement, it is asserted that they had taken up arms before any overt act against their liberties was committed by the Queen's Government. A slight investigation of facts will show the value of this position. No direct infringement of their laws may have been actually perpetrated, upon King Ferdinand's death ; but men were restored to favour through-

* I shall hereafter explain the circumstances in question.

out the country who had been notoriously hostile to their rights, and who had assisted in the scheme for their subversion during the Revolution of 1820. The language, too, of the Court and of the Ministers, with reference to the Basque privileges, was not ambiguous, even in the first days of the Queen's accession. Yet, with such strong incentives to revolt, the insurrection in Biscay was so inconsiderable, that it was completely kept in check by a force of a thousand men, till Castañon formally put down the *fueros**, and followed up this outrageous measure by trampling upon their rights in practice as well as on paper, by invading their properties, and inflicting death contrary to the laws of the land, and without the intervention of the ordinary tribunals. From that moment the people rose *en masse*, the insurrection, till then partial, became general and irrepressible; and to such an extent is the love of their ancient liberties interwoven with their allegiance to Don Carlos, that an accurate observer of events †, just returned from the scene of action, declares that if this Prince, worshipped as he is

* A term designating collectively their peculiar laws and liberties.

† Mr. Honan.

in Biscay, were to retire from the field, the Basques would continue the struggle for their own independence.

A statesman can form no satisfactory opinion as to the conduct of the Spanish Government, or the justice of the war in which we are unhappily engaged, unless he thoroughly comprehend the nature of the rights in question. He will then determine whether rights of that description were ever yet in the history of the world enjoyed for centuries by a manly people, and then resigned without a struggle.

The three provinces of Guipuzcoa, Alava, and Biscay form an integral part of the Spanish Monarchy, but have for ages possessed the rights, and been governed by the laws of free men.

The province of Guipuzcoa enjoys in many respects the same privileges as Biscay. We are told by the Marquis de Mondexar, in his historical memoirs of the life and actions of Alonzo the Noble, eighth Prince of that name, that the province of Guipuzcoa possessed at the commencement of his reign by the King of Navarre, although governed in fealty by different rich men of the land, "became, in the year 1200, united with Castille through the

will of its inhabitants." He afterwards states "that the people sent envoys to King Alonzo to treat of their intentions, signifying that, if he would come among them to concert and agree respecting their union, they would separate from Navarre*." The King of Castille gladly responded to their wishes, and repaired to Guipuzcoa, where, in the terse language of the historian, "they settled their matters and covenants." He subsequently adds, "The conditions of this contract, eventually signed and concluded on the 8th of October, 1238, corresponding to 1200 of the Christian æra, are preserved in the original instrument afterwards published by Father Luiz de Vega, a Jeromite monk, and quoted by Estevan di Garibay, in his "Chronicle†." "It would be superfluous," concludes the Marquis, "to repeat the conditions, when it will suffice to say that the same exemptions and privileges which they still enjoy were granted to the natives."

In virtue of this compact the Guipuzcoans still hold their privileges, and the Charter granted by King Alphonso details the circumstances which led to the Union, and is or was

* Mondexar, chap. lxxvii.

† Ibid.

preserved, till lately, in the general archives of the province. This singular and interesting document* sets forth that the Guipuzcoans were induced to withdraw their allegiance from the King of Navarre, and transfer it to the Sovereign of Castille, because the Navarrese Monarch, in direct contravention of their laws, and disregarding their antient right of free election, had illegally endeavoured to nominate, by his sole authority, a chief magistrate for their state, to the exclusion of the individual chosen by their general assembly, held annually at Tolosa and Durango, according to the ancient custom of the land†. Upon this account they withdrew their fealty from him, and transferred it to the King of Castille, who, in return, guaranteed to them their ancient rights, and confirmed them by a Charter ‡.

The province of Alava has its own constitu-

* Copied by Don Rafael Floranes, of Valladolid.

† Mendoza observes, that although the Guipuzcoans at different times entrusted their province to the protection of different princes, first to those of Navarre, and afterwards to those of Castille, they never lost their independent rights, although they may have recognised in the Union (en la Confederacion) some kind of superiority.—Lib. ii. cap. 13, of the *Monarquia Española* por Salazar de Mendoza.

‡ From Mendexar, Note to chap. lxxvii.

tion, not, however, differing substantially from those of Biscay and Guipúzcoa. In 1332 this province acknowledged Alphonso XI. as their Lord. The deputies empowered to treat with this Sovereign, as their Lord, found him at Burgos, where they made him a formal tender of the county*. He immediately hastened to Arriaga, where the general assemblies of the country were convened on great occasions, and there, in the presence of the Hidalgos and the Prelate of Calahorra†, and the assembled people, he entered into a solemn compact, that neither he nor his successors would ever alienate any part of the land of Alava; that neither he nor they would ever give laws to the Alavese‡, but would engage to maintain, for the benefit of all, the fueros and freedom of the country, as then established. That the Alavese should be exempt from every sort of contribution and personal service from which they had been free before§; and that the Hidalgos should retain undisturbed possession of their lands, woods, and forests. That, although the King

* Chap. c. of "Cronica de Don Alphonso XI. de Castilla," by Cerda y Rico: ed. Madrid, 1787.

† Vide Note at the end of the work.

‡ Mariana, lib. ii. cap. 20.

§ Ibid.

reserved to himself the Lordship and the justice*, and the Ox* of March †, the Governors of their towns should be spontaneously chosen by the freemen of the soil ‡. That the Merino, or judicial officer, appointed by the Crown, should be a Noble of Alava; and that, except in certain specified cases, he should not proceed against any of his countrymen, unless they had been previously committed by their own Alcaldes. That the King, having no dominion over the province, as property of his own, should not be at liberty to give possession of it to any individual, nor even to issue orders for the erection of any town or village§.

Finally, they declared that, in case these rights, or any portion of these rights, should be infringed, the Nobles or Infanzones should be forthwith absolved from their sworn allegiance, and each and every Alavese be authorized to take up arms, pursue, and kill the offender ||. To these

* The appointment of the judicial officer.

† This has reference to some old feudal reservation, though I have not been able to discover the exact nature of the custom.

‡ With the exception of Vitoria and Trevino.

§ This restriction was imposed on the King to prevent the erection of any fortress which might be turned against the liberties of his subjects.

|| Garibay, vol. ii. book xiv. cap. vii. Zamacola, Historia de las Naciones Bascas, tom. ii. cap. 2.

articles the King subscribed, and upon these terms it is stated, in the lofty style of Castille, that "the Hidalgos consented" that we should have the lordship of the county of Alava, and that it should be royal, and they put it in the crown of our kingdoms for us, and for those who shall reign after us, in Castille and Leon *."

Biscay retains its ancient laws, customs, and tribunals, and is governed by its own national assemblies; it yields contributions to the Sovereign as a free gift; it arranges its own taxation; it has no militia laws; it is exempt from the odious system of impressment for the navy; it furnishes its own contingent of soldiers and sailors; it appoints its own police in peace; it provides for its own defence in war; no monopoly, royal or private, can be established in Biscay; no Biscayan can be required to contribute to the Crown of Castille a greater amount of taxation than that paid formerly to their Lords, a sum now reduced to a stipulated duty on the iron founderies and to certain tithes and rents.

* Contract between Alonzo XI. and the Hidalgos of Alava, made at Vitoria, on the 22nd of April, 1332.—Zamacola. Mariana confirms the principal articles of the compact, and states that the compact itself was existing in his time, lib. ii. cap. 2, de la impress. de Madrid, del año de 1617.

The King, as Lord, can only nominate Biscayans by birth to ecclesiastical appointments in Biscay; their Alcaldes are freely chosen by the people. No Biscayan, resident in any province of Spain, can be tried, either civilly or criminally, by the laws of Castille, but the case must be referred to Valladolid, to be there determined by a tribunal of Biscayan judges, and according to the laws of Biscay.

The house of the Biscayan is his castle, in the most emphatic sense of the word. No magistrate can violate that sanctuary; no execution can be put into it, nor can his arms or his horse be seized; he cannot be arrested for debt, or subjected to imprisonment upon any pretext whatever, without a previous summons to appear under the old tree of Guernica, where he is acquainted with the offence imputed to him, and called upon for his defence; he is then discharged on the spot, or bailed, or committed, according to the nature of the crime, and the evidence adduced against him. This, the most glorious privilege that freemen can possess,—this, the most effectual safe-guard against the wanton abuse of power,—this, a custom more determinately in favour of the subject than even our own cherished Habeas

Corpus,—was enjoyed by the Basques for centuries before that far-famed guarantee of British liberty had an existence in our islands; and yet a right which we esteem so inappreciable at home we are labouring to subvert in a foreign and, till now, a friendly land.

I will at present shortly allude to the character and duties of the legislative body. The General Junta, or Biscayan Parliament, regularly assembles every second year, although, upon critical occasions, an extraordinary session is frequently held. It is called together by the Corregidor, who acts in concert with the deputation, which during the recess sits permanently at Bilboa.

Notice must be given at least fifteen days before the appointed time of meeting, and the measures intended to be proposed and discussed must then be publicly announced, that the Deputies may consult their constituents on each specific point, and receive their instructions.

The Biscayan towns, with a few exceptions only, are represented*. There is no electoral qualification, every inhabitant has a vote,—universal suffrage prevails. These rights have

* This exception applies only to the towns in the district of Durango, which formerly separated of their own accord, and declined sending deputies.

been annulled by the Queen's Government, practically by Castañon, virtually, but completely, by the Estatuto Real,—and yet we are gravely told that the Basques are struggling only for the establishment of despotic power; and, strange to say, our Government, professing to act on liberal principles, sends out an officer of similar opinions, to substitute a constituency, perhaps the most restricted in Europe, for that system of universal suffrage which was the ancient law of the land; and to replace a Constitution which protects the liberty of the subject in the highest degree, by a species of anomalous charter which defines no privilege, and secures no right. So much for the consistency of party politics, and for the real liberality of our foreign policy.—But to return to Biscay.

The Parliament meets on the appointed day; the Corregidor, the Tribunes, and the Deputies assemble under the tree of Guernica, deliver their credentials, and pass on in solemn procession to the adjoining church, where the session is opened. The debates are public, and the measures submitted to their consideration are proposed in Spanish, but discussed in the Basque language. The Biscayan Parliament possesses exclusively the right to legislate for Biscay; to

make new laws when requisite, and repeal those which time or circumstances have rendered inexpedient; to propose the budget, to adjust the taxation for the two following years, and to make every necessary arrangement connected with the internal economy, and the external defence of the province. It also grants letters of naturalization to foreigners, and assigns pensions to natives, who, by acts of signal patriotism, have deserved well of their country. No order of the Spanish Government is directly received by the Basque Parliament*; any order emanating from the Crown of Castile is addressed to the executive authorities of the province, by which it is referred to the Tribunes, who take it into their deliberate consideration, determine whether it be or be not in unison with the law of the land, and, accordingly, either approve or reject it. Their veto upon any resolution of the Spanish Government is absolute, and the seemingly inconsistent, but not uncourteous formula of "*Obedecida, pero no cumplida* †" is their peculiar but decisive mode of rejection. If an order from the Spanish Government be

* Vide Note at the end of the Volume.

† "*Obedied, but not carried into execution.*"

of great importance, and supposed to affect any essential privilege, directly or indirectly, the Parliament is convened, the Tribunes deliver their opinions on the legal and constitutional bearings of the question, and the Deputies, after mature deliberation, confirm or condemn the order.

During the interval which elapses between the close of the session and the re-assembling of the Parliament, the administration of public affairs is vested in a commission residing at Bilboa, composed of the two tribunes and a certain number of deputies elected by ballot out of the legislative body. To these is added the Corregidor, who sits as President; and although a native of Biscay is alone eligible to this office, the Basques have ever guarded their privileges with such a jealous spirit of precaution, not only against the likelihood, but almost against the possibility of encroachment from the Crown, that this officer is not permitted to vote in common with the other members of the deputation, solely because he is appointed by the Court.

It may then be justly said that before the Queen's accession, the Basque Provinces were

freer than the freest canton in Switzerland. Like the Swiss in character, their political position in some respects resembled that of the Swiss Cantons, at the time when the unjust ambition of Austria compelled them to assert their lawful rights; like the Cantons, the Basque Provinces were bound to each other by strong ties of interest and affection; no change could take place in any of the provinces without the previous consent of its own inhabitants; no contribution levied upon them without the sanction of their own representatives was legal: these were privileges secured to them by their respective and nearly similar constitutions;—constitutions which required, by precise and positive enactments, every Basque subject, from the highest to the lowest, to resist, even unto the death, any encroachments upon their liberties, whether proceeding from the Spanish Government or from any other power. To which were those brave Biscayans, whom His Majesty's Ministers designate as rebels, bound to adhere, in the crisis which has arisen,—to the common, and also to the written law,—to the immemorial law of their country,—or to the arbitrary edicts of a Govern-

ment of yesterday, based, as I hope to prove, neither in reason nor in legal right? A determination to resist external aggression, and to preserve their national rights, are the great pervading principles which influence the present conduct of the Basques, and have animated them from the earliest period of their history.

Theirs are privileges, and theirs, indeed, a country, worthy of defence, alike against the despotic, and the democratic tyrant; and when I call to mind the high spirit of that people, and contrast the once flourishing condition of those provinces with their present desolation, my heart swells with sorrow and indignation. When, formerly, I crossed the frontier of the Basque Provinces, I felt myself at once on a free land, amid a race of men possessing and deserving freedom. The erect, not haughty carriage, the buoyant step, the frank and manly yet respectful greeting, and the whole bearing, spoke of liberty long enjoyed, well understood, and not abused. Such were the Basques, trained to habits of self reliance by centuries of self government, freemen in spirit, not in name alone, drinking in with their mother's milk a love of justice and a reverence for the law; in thought sober yet

independent, and wholly without fear, except the honest fear of doing wrong; models of ancient manners, and not unfrequently of manly beauty, faithful friends, generous hosts, simple yet inflexible observers of their word, following with fervour, but without intolerance, their Father's faith,—they were the Tyrolese of Spain, and, I might add, the flower of Europe. Lambs in the hour of peace, yet lions in the field, with them the household charities and patriotism went hand in hand; in them the bravest yet the kindest spirit, the mildest yet the proudest virtues, were combined. Never, perhaps, existed a more perfect union of the qualities which should adorn a people; the idolatry of freedom so distinctive of the Swiss, and the unconquerable affection of the Tyrolese to his hereditary Princes, were, by a happy and most unusual combination, united in the Basques.

How well I recollect that beautiful and joyous country, before it groaned beneath the scourge of civil war! Those lowlands, rich, luxuriant, and proving, by their high cultivation, the prosperous state and unfettered industry of the people; those highlands, rich in wood and water, and a loyal population; those antique

mansions, retaining the character of an earlier age, where the gentlemen of the country lived, not crowding into towns, as in other parts of Spain and of the continent, but residing on their estates, benefiting the neighbourhood, and obtaining the rich return of local love and respect, a habit arising from the security of the country, and the long prevalence of free institutions. Their estates, handed down from generation to generation from a remote antiquity, are not regarded with a jealous eye by a people enjoying the largest measure of freedom compatible with the public good, and who are at once too happy to envy their superiors in station, and too rational to suppose that an aristocratic influence is naturally hostile to their interests. On the contrary, the public feeling flows in a very different channel, and the man who sells his feudal and turreted mansion incurs the certain disapprobation of his neighbours, is supposed to have compromised the just dignity of his position, and to have entailed upon his relatives a family disgrace.

The proprietors of these castellated abodes were formerly revered as the Chiefs and Elders of the district; great respect was paid

to their opinion, which, indeed, was considered decisive on many points of private difference and local interest, and even now they are treated with high distinction, and enjoy a solid influence.

Under a social system so constituted, and when such was the habitual feeling of the inhabitants in relation to each other, it is scarcely necessary to say, that before the breaking out of the actual revolution, the Basques were happy; attached to their proprietors, free from those jealous animosities which, in many countries, array class against class; elevated, for the most part, above the pressure and temptations of poverty; possessing a healthy and temperate climate, a country and a dynasty to which they were passionately attached, and institutions which left them nothing to reform and little to desire, they were exempt from all the ills that "Kings can cause or cure," and were, and had been for ages, blessed beyond the ordinary lot of mortals. The Eastern sage, who vainly sought a virtue unattainable by man, and the Abyssinian Prince, who roamed the world in quest of perfect happiness, might have met rejoicing in the valleys of the Basque, and have

indulged, at least for a season, in the fond belief, that they had found, at length, the objects of their search.

What, then, could men whose political sympathies were based on the most honourable affections of our nature, have in common with such a government as that which is afflicting Spain? How could their generous and exalted sentiments of liberty accord with that bastard freedom which respects not the means so that the end be obtained, which in spirit is based upon a principle of absolute equality, which has no toleration for any class of opinion or line of conduct but its own, and which rejects liberty itself in its purest form, if clad in a garb of antiquity, and divested of that uniformity which is an essential ingredient of that narrow system?

To their rights and privileges, erected on the broadest basis, the Basques adhered with an affection which no words can express; those were not rights of yesterday, but rights associated with every deeply-cherished recollection, interwoven with their traditions, connected with every stirring incident in the public annals of their little state, and hallowed by the proud remembrance that they had been maintained for

ages by their Fathers against outnumbering enemies: at a time, too, when the night of despotism weighed heavily on the surrounding world, and when their star was the only light of liberty which shone in the European heaven.

The memory of those glorious times is not extinct in Biscay; and still I am assured the enthusiastic Carlists sing the heroic song of the "Field of the Blood-red Stones," when they attack the squadrons of the Queen; and, although so many centuries have rolled away since that conflict, so disastrous to Castille, they still recal the trophies of that fight, and boast that the Castillians of to-day shall crouch beneath the hereditary vigour of their arms.

It is, then, against a people indomitable in war, and, therefore, invaluable in periods of invasion, as the props of the Monarchy, and in peace adorned by every social and useful virtue, that the Spanish Government have thought right to direct their hostility. Such conduct will not stand the test of inquiry. The Government have attempted to abolish privileges, not feudal or obsolete, not enjoyed by a few for the advantage of the few, but affecting the lowest, as well as the highest individual, and securing

to all alike personal freedom and undisturbed enjoyment of property.

On the part of the Spanish Government, it was neither a matter of policy nor expediency, but of positive obligation, to maintain those privileges, as the result of mutual concession and solemn compact, at the time of the respective unions with the Spanish crown, and afterwards successively confirmed by the Sovereigns of Spain. at their accession to the throne—confirmed by the Austrian—confirmed by the Bourbon dynasty, and respected even by the gloomy spirit of the second Philip.

The conduct of the Spanish Government in violating those rights, under such circumstances, is indefensible, upon any principle of law or equity. It is more than questionable, whether one party can recede from a compact of such a nature, without the concurrence of the other, but the wildest partisan never maintained, till now, that during the existence of the connexion, one party is at liberty to absolve itself from the obligations it has incurred, and yet require the other to fulfil its part of the contract. The Constitutionalists are determined to preserve the Union, yet would destroy the privileges

guaranteed by that Union to the Basques. They would retain for themselves the advantages arising from an important accession of territory to the State, while they refuse to fulfil the conditions by which alone those advantages were obtained.

The Crown lawyers in Spain have evaded, discreetly enough, a fair and direct consideration of the terms of the Union with Biscay, alluding to the compact, in general language, as vague and doubtful, undefined at all times, and certainly not at present binding on either the Sovereign or the legislature of the kingdom. To establish a more correct view of the case, and to show that these rights were made, from the earliest times, a matter of solemn compact between the governor and the governed, it will be necessary for me to enter, briefly indeed, but rather critically, into some passages of the history of these provinces.

It is asserted—for I speak with much doubt, when referring to such remote transactions—that as early as the year 870, the free Biscayans assembled under the memorable oak of Guernica, and elected, as their Lord and Protector, Don

Lope Zuria, a son of an opulent noble of Biscay*, “stipulating” (I quote the very words)—“stipulating with him, at the same time, a compact, having certain conditions, for the perpetual observance of those laws and customs previously established among them, in the following words: ‘That it was the law and liberty of the people that any order or decree issued by the said Lord of Biscay, if contrary to the laws and *fucros* of Biscay, directly or indirectly, should not be put into execution.’†”

From this time till 1105, the Biscayan lords appear to have been elected by the people; from 1105 till 1370, they succeeded each other in strict hereditary descent; but, during that period, the national assemblies met regularly under the ancient oak of Guernica.

In the fourteenth century Don Pedro of Castille made an ineffectual effort to obtain possession of Biscay; but his brother, Don Tello, married the heiress of the Lordship of Biscay, and was acknowledged as Lord of that country,

* Argote ascribes this election to the year 870. Henao alludes to the event as occurring nearly forty years later.

† Argote de Molina, cap. lxxxiii. Garibay, lib. ix. cap. 22. Navarro, cap. 7.

on condition that he would swear to preserve inviolate, to all the inhabitants of Biscay, their fueros, usages, customs, and privileges, as all the Lords of Biscay had done before *.

Upon the death of Tello, and of his wife, Donna Juana de Haro, the heiress of the Lordship of Biscay, without issue, Don Juan of Castille, heir to that kingdom, and at the same time descended from one of the Haro ladies, was acknowledged by the Biscayans as their lawful lord, in the year 1371. Soon afterwards, on his Father's death, this Prince succeeded to the throne of Castille, and at that period the union of Biscay with Castille took place † ; we have now to consider the circumstances under which it was effected. From the general nature of the transaction, even without any direct testimony to that effect, it is highly probable that the laws and privileges of Biscay would have been retained; but it is manifest, from the accounts handed down to us, that, in point of fact, they were solemnly and specially reserved.

* Gutierrez, lib. iii.

† For a more detailed account of the mode in which the Crowns of Castille and Biscay merged in the same individual, see "Padre Gabriel Henao, Averiguaciones Cantabras," 1, folio. Mariana. Navarro, cap. i. cap. 28.

In the first place the Union was “quoad caput et regimen” in virtue of which, upon every principle of national law, any kingdom, province, town or church, united to another, retains, after the Union, the same privileges, usages, and customs it previously possessed, experiencing no change, except that involved by a mutual adherence to a common head. The union of Biscay was with the Crown, and not with the kingdom of Castille—and as Don Juan held the Lordship of Biscay by a different title from that by which he succeeded to the throne of Castille, the laws and privileges of Biscay could hardly be affected by a junction of the crowns.

The theory of the case would then induce us to suppose that the national rights and customs of the Biscayans would not have been impaired by the Union. This probable view of the case is borne out by testimony to that effect, of the most decisive kind, and from various sources.

To such a jealous extent was the affection for their provincial privileges carried at the time of the Union, and so completely were those rights made matter of deliberate compact, that the free Biscayans stipulated that Don Juan and his successors to the Crown of Castille,

should style themselves, not Kings, but Lords of Biscay, to mark and keep in perpetual remembrance the tenure and conditions upon which alone they held possession of that country; and ever since the Union the Spanish Sovereigns have invariably styled themselves Kings of Spain and Lords of Biscay; a designation foolish and unmeaning, if that province had merged in the kingdom generally. "*Nomine qui differunt censentur differre effectu et essentiâ,*" is a recognised maxim of law. The admitted fact too, that the subsequent Sovereigns of Castille confirmed the Biscayan fueros and privileges, not as Sovereigns graciously conferring a favour, but as Lords exercising the office of first magistrate, is strongly confirmatory of the compact.

It is, however, of great importance to my argument to investigate minutely the arrangements entered into between the Biscayans and their new Lord, the Sovereign of Castille, at the period of the union of the Crowns. When Don Juan was received by the Biscayans as their Lord in his father's lifetime, he repaired in person to Guernica, and swore to respect their rights; again, at the junction of the Crowns, he

entered into a compact with the Biscayans that Biscay should be annexed for ever to Castille, and in return for this concession on their part bound himself, and his successors, to maintain their fueros, customs, franchises, and liberties, now and for all time to come. In virtue of this engagement Biscay became united to Castille*.

From this statement of facts it appears that the allegiance of the Biscayans was conditional from very remote times, and dependent on the fullest recognition of their rights. It is equally clear, that at the union of Biscay with Castille, the agreement entered into by the Biscayans, first with their elective, and afterwards with their hereditary Lords, was solemnly renewed by the Spanish Sovereigns, who pledged themselves and their successors to preserve inviolate the laws and privileges of the people entrusted to their charge. And here I might almost rest my case; for it is clear that the Queen's Government, in abolishing the privileges of Biscay without the consent of the Biscayans, have violated the compact formed at the time of the

* Lope Garcia de Salazar, libro xx. Señores de Vizcaya.— Zamacola.

union, in virtue of which alone, Biscay became an integral part of the monarchy.

But as the Crown Lawyers in Spain have shrouded the question of the Basque privileges under a mist of their own creation, skilfully enough,—for, well understood, it is fatal to the justice of their cause; as they have insinuated that those rights were virtually annulled by the union of the Crowns, I will incur the danger of fatiguing my readers, by showing the light in which those privileges were viewed by the first Sovereign who wore the united Crowns of Biscay and Castille, and by the Spanish Monarchs who succeeded him.

Don Juan, first prince who was both Lord of Biscay and King of Castille, permitted some of his subjects to erect on certain lands in Biscay a town subsequently called Miravalles; upon which Bilboa and other towns protested, declaring that the Lord of Biscay could not grant those lands without an infraction of their privileges, as the territory in question belonged not to the Crown, but to the Hidalgos and people of Biscay. Some meetings and consultations took place on the subject, and finally Don Juan issued a manifesto which was deposited in the

archives of the new town of Miravalles; from this declaration I extract the two following paragraphs:—

“I have found by the said consultation, that in authorizing the erection of the town in question, I was acting in conformity with the will of God, and with a due regard to my own interest, and that by so acting, I did not infringe upon either the privileges, usages, customs, or fueros of Biscay, nor against the privileges of the town of Bilboa, nor was I acting against my own oath, which I should have maintained inviolate before every other consideration.” And, in another part of the manifesto are these striking expressions:—“I have moreover ascertained by the council, that the oath I took, when I was received by the Biscayans as their lord, does not extend to this, and that in authorizing the erection of the said town, I do not infringe upon the said oath; on the contrary, I keep my oath, and should have been guilty of a crime if I had not given the order, or had forbidden the erection of the city*.”

This, the recorded language of the first King of Castille who became Lord of Biscay, is a

* Covarrubias, *Questiones Practicæ*, Vol. I. No. 5.

conclusive proof that, however lightly the supple genius of the Crown Lawyers of Spain may affect to treat the question, still the Sovereign who lived at the time of the Union, and whose inclinations would have naturally led him to disregard an oath of a merely formal nature, when militating against his own authority, had no hesitation in openly declaring that he was solemnly bound by the engagement, into which he had entered, to respect the antient rights of the Biscayans, although acting in accordance with the unanimous judgment of his council, he was distinctly of opinion that the order in question was not an infraction of their privileges.

Such was the conduct of the first King of Castille who became Lord of Biscay. In what light was the union of the free states considered by his successors? Did they conceive that, as Sovereigns of Castille, where their government was comparatively despotic, they had any right to dispute the free privileges of any of their Basque subjects? Let us for a moment investigate the matter, always remembering that the three provinces of Alava, Guipuzcoa, and Biscay, united under different circumstances and at different times to the Crown of Castille, had

still been united conditionally, and with a strict reservation of their peculiar laws and rights.

At the death of Don Juan the First, his son and heir, Henry the Third, was eleven years old, and consequently could not be required by the Biscayans to confirm their fueros ; but when he attained his fifteenth year, the legal age, he repaired in person to Biscay at the requisition of the States, and, under the oak tree at Guernica, swore to observe their rights in the year of our Lord, 1393*.

We are told, in the curious chronicle that records the life of Henry III., that upon this occasion, when the King reached Bilboa he sent letters to the chief Biscayans, requesting them to meet him at the spot where they had been accustomed to assemble ; and then the King, leaving the city, travelled onwards until he reached a spot called, in the Basque language, Arechabalaga, which means "the hill of the broad-spreading oak ;" and there he would fain have conferred with the assembled nobles of the land in good and hearty intercourse, but they were divided by jealous feuds, and each chief kept haughtily aloof on the brow of the

* Garibay, lib. xv, cap. 40.

hill, with his train-band gathered round him; and then the Brotherhood came forward, and one and all required the King to swear to the good laws and usages of Biscay, as they had been administered by all its former Lords,—and to this the King replied, that he was willing so to do; and then the Brotherhood again came forward, and desired him to confirm their association, united by a common bond for the right and good administration of justice,—and to this the King replied, that he was willing so to do; and then the Brotherhood came forward a third time, and said that, as King Henry was not Lord of the land until he came in person to swear to their charters and receive them as his own, that, consequently, they were not bound to yield him the contributions which had accrued since the death of good King John, his father, and, therefore, desired he would direct his treasurer not to require the same,—and to this, their third request, King Henry stated that he was willing to accede*.

King Henry's reign was generally marked by a cautious observance of their privileges, but

* *Cronica de D. Enrique III.*, written by Don Pedro Lopez de Alaya, and corrected by Secretary Geronimo Zurita, ch. xiv.

labouring at one period under great pecuniary embarrassments, he unwisely addressed a *pedido*, or kind of summary request for money, to his Guipuzcoan subjects; upon which their Parliament assembled at Tolosa, repressed, with uncompromising vigour, these early symptoms of Spanish encroachment, and came at once to a resolution singularly divested of the courtesies of modern expression, and exhibiting that stern spirit of freedom which so strongly animated those plain-spoken asserters of the popular rights.

The Deputies unanimously resolved on the 10th of August, 1391, that no Guipuzcoan cited before the courts of Castille should obey the summons*. That if any agent of Castille should attempt to exact the *pedido*, on the plea of tribute, from any Guipuzcoan, the injured man should alarm the province, and all the inhabitants, old and young, should come in arms to seize the collector, and bring him before the General Assembly of Uzarraga, there and by them to be judged†. That in case the collector escaped

* Garibay.—If found guilty, death was the penalty.

† Garibay.—I adhere not only to the general meaning, but, as nearly as possible, to the words of the resolutions quoted by Garibay. The style is antiquated, but may not on that account be unwelcome to the curious reader.

with what he had seized, an equal amount should be taken from the duties payable to the King, and transferred to the injured party*; that an account of the seizure should be promulgated throughout Guipuzcoa, and that every Guipuzcoan, from the age of sixteen to sixty, should hold himself prepared to maintain the decision of the States.

The King felt the justice of their reproof, attempted no remonstrance, and at once withdrew his request.

When Henry died his son and heir was a child, and the circumstances to which his minority gave birth carry on our chain of proof, distinctly mark the sense in which the Treaty of Union was interpreted at that time both by the people of Biscay and by the Court of Castille, prove clearly the extreme tenacity with which the Biscayans clung to their rights, and show that they were acknowledged in the amplest manner by the Spanish Court.

During the minority of the young Prince, afterwards Juan II., his mother Catalina, and his uncle Don Fernando, governed Castille, and, as Regents, called on the Biscayans to

* Garibay.

pay the contributions due to the Lord of Biscay; but they answered, with the conscious pride of freemen, that they would not accede to that request until their fueros and privileges had been confirmed by oath, and with all the usual forms.

Upon a second and more urgent application from the Regency, the Biscayan Parliament assembled under the tree of Guernica, and came to the following resolution:—

“That although there was no precedent for payment of contribution to their Lord, until he had confirmed their fueros, and sworn to maintain the same; however, in consideration of his tender age, and that the Regent, his uncle, was in the war against the Moors, they would pay, on condition that the Queen mother would engage that when the Regent, Don Fernando, should return from the war, he should go to Biscay and swear to maintain their privileges, as Tutor and Governor; and that when the King, Don Juan, their Lord, should become of age, he would do the same; if this arrangement were not agreed to, they would still suspend the usual contributions*.”

* Garibay, lib. xvi. cap. 46.

It is not easy to adduce a stronger proof of the jealous affection entertained by the Biscayans for their provincial rights. They admitted no postponement in the legal confirmation of their liberties; they refused allegiance upon any other terms, and required from the *locum tenens* the same guarantees for the entire preservation of their privileges which they were accustomed to exact from the more permanent possessor of the throne.

Such was the course pursued by the Biscayans at this conjuncture; and it is worth observing that the Queen Regent, in her reply, neither stated nor insinuated that their demand was an encroachment on the authority of the Crown, or unsupported by the common law of the land. On the contrary, she took the following oath on the 14th of July, 1407:—

“I, the Queen Mother, as Guardian and Regent of these kingdoms, belonging to my son, swear, upon the Cross and upon the Holy Gospels, which I hold in my hands, to maintain to Biscay, to the towns, and to the lowlands, to the nobles, to the citizens, and to the inhabitants therein, their fueros, usages, customs, privileges, rules and ordinances, franchises,

liberties, gifts, immunities and lands, according to the best and amplest manner in which they were confirmed to them in the time of Donna Constanza, and the other Kings and Lords of Biscay, from that time to the present day; and, in the name of the King and Lord, my son, as his Guardian I confirm the same."

It has been, I think, sufficiently proved that the Biscayans did not regard the compact entered into with the Crown of Castille at the time of the union as a vain formality, but rigidly insisted upon the exact observance of their rights, as the only condition of their allegiance. They warned the third Henry in no courtly language, when he endeavoured to strain the prerogative; and the fate of the fourth monarch of that name displays in striking colours the just but inexorable sternness with which they avenged the first positive infraction of the compact between Lord and people.

King Juan died in 1454; and in consequence, on the 4th of March, in the ensuing year, a deputation went from Biscay to Segovia, and urged the new King to proceed, without delay, to Guernica, and take the usual oath under the tree. The King replied that the war then waging

against the Andalusian Moors would prevent an immediate compliance with their request; he would, however, take the earliest opportunity of confirming their privileges at the appointed spot; and, to leave no doubt of his intentions, he immediately pledged his faith and royal word to maintain to Biscay all its fueros and privileges. And actually, in 1457, King Henry went to Biscay, and took the usual oaths *.

Not only did King Henry confirm the rights of the Biscayans, on two separate occasions, within the limited space of two years, but when they were alarmed in 1470, by a rumour that the King had granted certain lands in Biscay to some minions of his Court, conscious of the illegality of such an act, and before any direct remonstrance had been addressed to him, he issued a manifesto, in which he assured the Biscayans that he had neither granted the lands in question to any Castillians, nor had ever entertained the slightest intention of so doing †.

The royal declaration appeased his irritated subjects; but, prone to exceed his just prerogative, and forgetting the severe rebuke which his ancestor had received on a similar occa-

* Henao, lib. i. cap. 61.

† Ibid., lib. ii. cap. 18.

sion, he addressed a *pedido* for money to his Guipuzcoan subjects, through his minister of finance, a Jew: a deputy, transported with rage at this apparent disposition to violate the privileges he had sworn to observe, gave way to the fierce passions so common at that time, and, drawing his sword, slew the encroaching minister on the spot*. When King Henry heard of the event, he sent envoys to Tolosa, demanding the immediate surrender of the offending individual. To this demand the Guipuzcoans returned a positive refusal; stating that the act was committed in a lawful attempt to resist an illegal and treasonable proposition. Collecting their troops on the hills commanding the town, the citizens prepared to maintain, by force of arms, the spirited reply which they sent back to the King, and which I here insert, as characteristic of the determined spirit of the people:—

“The Basques are the representatives of the Iberian nation. For Spanish freedom they lavished their blood against Carthage, against

* Mariana alludes briefly to the death of the Jew Gaon, and the attempt to exact the *pedido* which produced it.—Tom. ii. lib. xxiii. ch. 6. The circumstances of the murder are given at greater length by Garibay, lib. xvii. ch. 9.; and an old Biscayan manuscript enters still more fully into the details of the transaction, and the events which followed it.

the Romans, and against the Goths. They restored Spain, by expelling the Moors, who had conquered it from the barbarians. The struggles of the Basques against the Caliphs of the West lasted for more than six centuries. The little country of Castille scarcely existed when our nation, dwelling in the Pyrenean mountains, counted many centuries of glory and enterprise!

“ In acknowledgment of the services which we have rendered to Castille, we claim to be allowed, peaceably to enjoy our laws and liberties, the inheritance which our ancestors preserved to us, at the expense of so much blood, and so many glorious labours. If, however, the Castillians behave ungratefully and unjustly towards us, they shall learn, at their own cost, who were, and still are, their masters in the art of war, and their mountain liberators.

“ As regards the *pedido*, unjustly demanded of us, and as touching the death of the Jew, know that the intrepid Guipuzcoan who killed the publican deserved well of his country. Tell this to King Henry! Return, and bid him remember that one of the fundamental laws of our people runs thus:—We ordain, that if any one, whether native or foreigner, should coerce any man,

woman, people, village, or town of Guipuzcoa, by virtue of a mandate from our Lord the King of Castille, which has not been previously agreed to and sanctioned by the general assembly, or whosoever violates our rights, laws, charters, and privileges, shall be disobeyed; and, if he persists, killed.”

Such was the proud and patriotic spirit which animated the Basques. The King followed the example of his ancestor in withdrawing, as he had foolishly imitated his conduct in proposing, the *pedido*. He bowed before the storm; but, too dishonest to abstain from encroachments which he had not the power to complete, he renewed the attempt, which he had solemnly disclaimed, to grant certain lands in Biscay to some Castillian favourites*. When this resolution of the King was known in Biscay, a national assembly was held at Guernica, and there, under their cherished tree, they came to the memorable resolution that their Lord had forfeited his right to the throne by a deliberate infraction of their *fueros*, and, in consequence, determined to transfer their allegiance from King Henry to his sister, the Princess Dona

* Zurita, *Annales de Aragon*, lib. xviii, cap. 61.

Isabella, afterwards so famous in the annals of Spain, and at that time the presumptive heiress to the throne; provided she would swear to maintain their privileges, and on this condition only. In conformity with this resolution, they sent to Castille Don Lope de Quiñozès, a Biscayan of high consideration, with full power to acquaint the Princess with their decision, and offer her the vacant throne upon the terms already stated. To those terms she subscribed at Segovia, on the 14th of July, 1473; and the faithless Lord of Biscay was dispossessed of his lordship*.

A revolution was thus effected in the succession, not, after the fashion of those days, by bloodshed and force of arms, but with a calmness, a moderation, and an attention to legal and constitutional forms, unparalleled among the warriors and statesmen of that rough-dealing time, and which appeared almost incomprehensible to the age in which it occurred. When the feeble despot heard the astounding intelligence of his own deposition, so peaceably, yet so completely, effected, he was seized with an unavailing repentance: he implored the Bis-

* Garibay, xvii. cap. 28. Lopez de Azala:

cayan Parliament to rescind their resolution, and restore him to his lost authority; offering to grant them more extensive privileges than they had ever yet possessed under his ancestors*; but the wise Biscayans refused to negotiate with a Prince who had been false to his oath, and had violated a solemn compact with his people. The King of France interposed, but his mediation was firmly refused†; and a Castillian army, sent into Biscay, to enforce obedience to King Henry's will, experienced the same success which has characterized the military operations of the present Queen of Spain exerted at an interval of three centuries and a half, on the same theatre of action, and for nearly similar objects‡.

I will now insert the oath taken by the Princess Isabella in the presence of Don Lope de Quincozes, the Biscayan envoy; and to this I must peculiarly direct the attention of my readers, principally, from its great constitutional importance, as renewing a solemn compact between the Crown of Castille and its Biscayan subjects; and in some degree from

* Zurita, cap. 61. † Zurita, cap. 61. Annales de Aragon.

‡ Garibay, lib. xvii. Mariana, lib. xxiii. Nayarro, cap. 29. Henao, lib. ii. cap. 18.

the wild and chivalrous and almost mystical character which breathes in every line;—a character pervading the early annals of Spain, and which still tinges the manners and lingers in the hearts of her people, in some secluded districts of the kingdom.

“ I, as Princess and Lady of the said towns, lowlands and lordship of Biscay, with all places adjoining and adhering to the same, I bind myself once, twice, and thrice;—once, twice, and thrice;—once, twice, and thrice, according to the fuero and custom of Spain, on the hands of Gomez Manriquez, Knight, Man, and Noble, who receives this my homage; and I swear to our Lord God, to the holy Virgin Mary, and on the sign of the Cross †, which, corporally, I touch with my right hand, and on the words of the Holy Gospels, in whatsoever place they may be, to maintain firm, good, valid, and binding, now, and for all time to come, the said privileges, general and special, fueros, usages, and customs, franchises, and liberties, of the said towns and lowlands, of the said county and lordship of Biscay, and of all places adjoining and adhering to the same *.”

* Cuerpo del Fuero de Biscaya, folio 282.

When, upon the death of Henry IV., King Ferdinand of Aragon and his consort, the famous Isabella, succeeded to the throne of Castille, King Ferdinand, although engrossed by his Spanish and Italian wars, proceeded immediately to Biscay, attended the Biscayan Parliament, and swore, not only to maintain their fueros and privileges generally, but granted them new liberties, and specially engaged that he would never alienate, upon any pretext, the smallest portion of the land of the lordship of Biscay. And we are told by the old Chroniclers, whose description of the events of the time is so full of striking and picturesque detail, that, "immediately after the King our Lord had taken the oath, on the said day, the 30th of July, 1476, the King our Lord went out of the church; and under the tree of Guernica, which is near the said church, his Majesty sat on a chair of stone, which is under the said tree, covered with royal pomp of gold brocade; and the said Corregidor, and the Alcaldes del Fuero, and the Prelate of the church, and the Procuradores, and the deputies Emanes, and the Knights, and the Esquires, and the Hidalgos before mentioned, spoke out, and said for them-

selves who were present, and for those who were absent, that they received him as the King of Castille and Leon, and the Lord of Biscay*."

Unlike her present Majesty of Spain, Queen Isabella regarded the privileges of her Basque subjects with such profound respect, that although she had sworn at Segovia to maintain their rights, in the presence of the Biscayan envoy; although her consort Ferdinand had subsequently confirmed, and even extended their privileges, still that just and politic Princess proceeded to the Basque States in 1483, and again confirmed their rights, not once but repeatedly, in the church of Guernica, under the tree of Guernica, and in every large town of Biscay, Guipuzcoa, and Alava†.

Some years afterwards, the Biscayan Parliament determined that many laws and ordinances were still remaining on the book of the *Fueros* which, in consequence of the lapse of time and change of manners, had become inapplicable to the state of society as it then existed. Under that impression, they introduced considerable changes into the legislation of the day, and

* *Recopilacion de los Fueros de Biscaya*, folio 298.

† Henao, lib. i. cap. 61.

at the accession of Charles V. presented the reformed code for his approbation. He confirmed the book of Fueros, thus amended, without scruple or hesitation, as well as the privileges, and franchises, and liberties of the said lordship, and lowlands, and towns, and cities, (so the act of confirmation runs,) in the same way and manner as they were confirmed and approved by the Catholic Kings, our Lord's father and grandfather. Dated June 7th, 1527 *.

Even Charles V., the greatest Monarch of his age, only assumed, in the height of his pride and power, the modest title of Lord of Biscay.

From the time of Charles V., to the present time, the Spanish Sovereigns have successively, and without a single exception, confirmed the privileges of the Basques, whose lofty and independent spirit did not decline with the age of chivalry, but continued to burn with as pure and bright a flame in later times, and amid surrounding despotism.

When Philip V., in 1718, opposed the pretensions of the Duke of Orleans, then Regent of France, and unnecessarily provoked hostilities with that kingdom, the Biscayans came forward

to assist the Crown with their characteristic loyalty and spirit. The Spanish army experienced some reverses; an unworthy influence prevailed at Madrid; and the timid monarch who had urged his subjects into a war with France, recoiled from the tempest he had raised, and left the Guipuzcoans exposed to the undivided hostility of their powerful enemy. When they found themselves absolutely abandoned by the Court, at whose instigation, and in whose behalf they had taken up arms; when they saw their territory wasted, and their cities given up to a licentious soldiery, a deep and universal indignation pervaded the province, and deputies were returned from every part of Guipuzcoa to the general Junta, solemnly pledged to bring forward and support a measure for the immediate repeal of the union between Guipuzcoa and Castille; and, actually, it was proposed and carried in the Guipuzcoan Parliament, that, in consequence of the unjustifiable conduct of the Spanish Court, the Union should be repealed, and the allegiance of the province transferred to France; but on this condition only, that the

French Monarch should swear to maintain their rights and privileges in all their integrity. The offer was actually made to France, but not accepted, and the matter dropped in consequence.

After the conclusion of the war, the popular exasperation subsided, and the mild and cautious policy which the Spanish Government pursued at that critical conjuncture succeeded in restoring to the Crown the lost affections of the provinces.

Such were the proceedings of the Basques in the last century: and yet, in the face of these facts, we are called upon to believe, that men who so recently exercised the rights of a free people and an independent state, are now entitled to no privileges, but such as a bankrupt Government at Madrid may please to confer upon them!

And now I have led my reader down the stream of time, and have described the gradual formation of a constitutional system of government, little known, indeed, but, in point of interest, without a parallel in the history of the world, if we consider the noble and engaging

character of the people among whom it was established, the length of time it has existed, the extent of freedom it has secured, and the excellence which it attained in an immature and half-civilized age. The soundest principles of government were thoroughly appreciated and successfully carried into effect by the isolated Biscayans, at a time when the elements of civil liberty were scarcely understood in other parts of Europe.

Time and experience have unquestionably improved the science of government; its machinery rolls on lighter wheels, but the great political maxims to which the old Biscayans adhered have been confirmed and diffused by the ripening wisdom of mankind; and I may safely say that there is no great principle of law and liberty engrafted upon our own constitution in later times which may not be found embodied in their early code.

The cant of liberty and the jargon of political economy was not for ever on their lips, but a heartfelt love of freedom was the mainspring of every thought and action; and all that is of practical value to the happiness of individuals, and to the welfare of the state, was compre-

hended by the Basques, and steadily enforced. At a time when religious toleration in Great Britain was rather the Utopia of a few benevolent minds than an admitted principle of government, and when every human energy was depressed by the iron yoke of the Inquisition in other parts of Spain, this institution was unknown to the Basque provinces, and indeed was never suffered to pollute that land of freedom. A tradition still exists, that when the agents of that dreadful tribunal went from Castille on a message to the Biscayans to recommend that institution to their adoption, they were met by the deputies on the very frontier of the state and sternly told, "So far, no farther shalt thou go." In short, the more carefully we examine the old Biscayan records, the more we shall be inclined to feel that, if our countrymen have had no superiors, they have, at least, had predecessors in the race of civil and religious liberty.

And now let us pause for a moment, and see the conclusion to which we are, irresistibly led by a calm consideration of the events already enumerated. A compact appears to have been concluded in very remote times between the Biscayans and their elected Lords, in which

the provincial privileges were insisted on, as the sole condition of their allegiance. Doubts have, I know, been cast upon the events of that distant period,—doubts which, I think, are not borne out by the notices of the time, but we can easily afford the Crown lawyers of Spain the benefit arising from the darkness and general uncertainty of that epoch. Sufficient light is shed upon the transactions of a later period to answer every practical purpose.

When the Crowns of Castille and Biscay were united, we find the Biscayans insisting upon the full recognition of their privileges, as the price of their consent to that measure, granting to their new master the Sovereign of Castille, the title of Lord, but refusing him that of King, as far as Biscay was concerned,—that he might keep in mind the terms upon which he was received, and the engagement by which he was bound.

We find the first Castillian Lord of Biscay journeying to that country at the requisition of his Biscayan subjects, as soon as he had attained the legal age, and solemnly swearing to preserve their rights. We find him, at a subsequent period of his reign, publicly adverting

to his oath as that which should regulate his conduct as their ruler, and during a reign of twenty years adhering strictly to the letter of his engagements; we find his son and heir taking the same oath at the legal age; we find the Biscayans, in the reign of his infant grandson, refusing to pay their usual contributions to the Regency, stating, that there was no precedent for payment of contribution to their Lord until he had confirmed their fueros, and sworn to maintain the same; and only yielding to the repeated applications of the Regency, on the solemn promise that the young Prince should take the oath at the earliest period practicable, and that the Regent should proceed to Biscay, and swear to observe their rights during the intervening time.

We afterwards see a King of Castille swearing to respect, but violating those privileges; we find the crime and the punishment following in close succession; we see him legally dispossessed of Biscay by the Biscayan Parliament, and the territory transferred by a vote of that assembly to his sister, the next in succession; and we see the offer accepted by that Princess, upon the express condition of maintaining in

perpetuity, and in their fullest sense, the existing rights of Biscay.

The progressive history of the time shows us her husband, King Ferdinand, soon afterwards, not only confirming but extending these rights; and the Biscayan Parliament, in the reign of his successor, exercising their legislative functions on the most delicate and important matters, and coming to a solemn decision that the ancient laws of Biscay were defective, and required reform. We discover that, in pursuance of this resolution, their code of laws was re-arranged and, to a great extent, re-modelled by a Biscayan commission, acting under the immediate control of a Biscayan Parliament; that, so amended, it was printed, and presented to Charles V. for his approbation; that it received the assent of that Monarch; that, ever since that time, it has formed a regular and written Constitution, which has been invariably confirmed by the succeeding Kings of Spain.

Did human laws ever rest upon a more legitimate basis? Were the liberties of freemen ever "bequeathed from sire to son" in such unbroken succession, or maintained with such determination for so great a length of time?

Every incident in the origin and progress of the Biscayan Constitution, that could make engagement sacred, or give confidence and stability to transactions between public bodies, has combined to give a character of legal and established right to the liberties of that nation.

Here is prescription in its most venerable shape for the lovers of antiquity; here is a revolutionary title for the friends of the sovereignty of the people*; here are privileges confirmed over and over again by the Monarch, and asserted by the people with unvarying energy and success in every age and under every variety of circumstance. In whatever light, according to whatever political bias, men may please to consider the question, to this conclusion fair judging persons must arrive, that, if solemn and repeated confirmation, if the most remote prescription can avail to make any title indisputably good, the privileges of the Biscayans are unassailable in principle, and cannot, therefore, with the faintest semblance of justice, be abolished, or even modified, without their own consent, expressed by their own assemblies.

* The transference of the crown from Henry IV. to his sister Isabella.

The occasional attempts at encroachment are but additional proofs of the reality and extent of those privileges; for every encroachment, from the thirteenth century down to the present period, has been repelled by the Biscayans, and every repulse has ultimately been acquiesced in by the encroaching party.

To believe that a free people, paying fealty to a Sovereign despotic in the rest of his dominions, should not, during the lapse of centuries, have been exposed to some aggression upon their liberties, is to suppose that which never yet existed in the annals of limited monarchy,—it is to suppose that where two conflicting interests are confronted, no collision will ever arise; that Sovereigns in Spain are exempt from the passions incident to the human mind in other countries,—in short, that it is not in the nature of power to oppress, or of prerogative to encroach. But we have seen the ineffectual efforts of every Prince who trod that crooked path in the early days of the Basque connexion with Spain, and similar attempts in recent times have been equally conspicuous for their failure.

Philip III. endeavoured to introduce into

Biscay some changes at variance with their privileges, but he soon became sensible of his indiscretion, he retracted his orders, confessed his error, and stated, in a public manifesto, that he had been wrongfully advised*.

In 1804, Godoy (the nick-named Prince of Peace) sent a quantity of stamps into Biscay, insisting on their use in aid of the general revenue. The Deputies met, denounced the act as an infringement of their liberties, and declared that the innovation was contrary to the laws of Biscay, and could not be allowed. The Government threatened; but the Deputies, supported by the sympathy of an unanimous people, persevered in their refusal, and, in consequence, the obnoxious stamps were delivered to the common hangman, and burnt under the tree of Guernica.

This contemptuous defiance of the Spanish Government by the patriots in the defence of their lawful privileges produced much irritation at Madrid, but the Biscayans carried their point, and the right they claimed was tacitly but fully admitted by the baffled Ministry.

* Recopilacion de Fueros, folio 301. This manifesto is dated Valladolid, May 24th, 1801.

The attempt was not renewed. Stamps were still, as before, effectually excluded from Biscay, and when any warrant issues from a superior court, the order for execution in Biscay is always made out on plain, unstamped paper.

The last time before the Queen's accession, that the Spanish Government contemplated any infringement of the liberties of the Basques, was in King Ferdinand's reign; and the circumstances connected with this intention are extremely curious, as solving an apparent contradiction in the relative feelings of the parties engaged in the present struggle, and showing the principal cause of the popularity enjoyed by Don Carlos in the north of Spain. It is sometimes said in England, that if the Basques were really struggling for their liberties, they would scarcely rally with such passionate zeal round the standard of a Prince known to entertain opinions of a strongly monarchical character. The fact may appear singular to men unacquainted with the recent history of the court of Madrid. At one period of Ferdinand's reign, a profligate minister, anxious to ingratiate himself with the Court by excess of servility, concocted a scheme to abridge materially, if not entirely

to suppress, the liberties of the Basques; and submitted the plan to the Council of State, over which Don Carlos then presided. The minister dwelt upon the possibility of extracting a larger revenue from the Basques; upon the expediency of extinguishing a spirit of independence, so dangerous from the example it held out, and strongly urged the policy of reducing all the provinces of Spain to the level of a common servitude, and of thus at once extending and securing the absolute prerogative of the crown. In consequence of this proposal, the question of the Basque privileges underwent a protracted investigation; the case was argued before the Council in detail, and considered in all its legal and constitutional bearings. During the progress of this inquiry, Don Carlos, acting less as the Prince than as the friend of the people, took ample care that the Biscayan advocates should not be deprived of any fair advantage; and when the inquiry was brought to an issue, he rose and stated, that the ministerial scheme involved a manifest breach of the compact solemnly entered into between the Crown of Spain and the people of the free provinces—that good, if, indeed, any good could eventually result

from such a measure, was not to be obtained by a positive violation of faith; that the Crown was bound to respect the established rights of the meanest subject of the realm; that such a conspiracy against their privileges was not to be endured; and that the proposition itself was an insult to Castilian honour.

Don Carlos may have prejudices connected with the royal authority, in common with his countrymen; but that refusal to enter into an unprincipled scheme, though possibly advantageous to the prerogative, showed a man upon whose word, once given, a nation can rely. There spoke the same resolute and honest spirit which, when in France and captive, declined to treat with his Imperial oppressor on any but on equal terms; who, while his brother meanly consented to abandon the crown of his ancestors, and the people nobly struggling for that crown, refused to give up his birth-right, or to forfeit his eventual title, by any voluntary act, saying that he was born a Prince of Spain, and would maintain his just rights to the last hour of his life.

But, with respect to the ministerial scheme for the suppression of the privileges, the vigorous condemnation pronounced by Don Carlos

had an electrical effect on the council; and the worthless project expired in its birth.

The project, indeed, expired, but gave rise to results unexpected by the projector: the honorable part which Don Carlos had taken in the council, on a question of such vital interest to the Biscayans, was quickly known in Biscay; and, from that moment, he became the undivided object of their enthusiasm—the centre of their hopes—the idol of their affections; and, in his person, they now revere the representative of their ancient sovereigns, and the guardian of their actual liberties; and when they raise the war-cry for that Prince, the loyalty and the liberties of Biscay seem identified in their eyes, and are indissolubly bound up in the magic of his name.

Such was the conduct pursued by Don Carlos in his more prosperous days; and this is to a great extent the real secret of the unbounded affection felt for him by the Biscayans, in these the days of his adversity: past Governments had endeavoured, as we have seen, to suppress their free privileges, by gradual and crafty encroachments; but it was left to the almost incredible madness of the liberal legislation of

Madrid to sweep away their long-established Constitution, and their whole system of laws, by a stupid exercise of power resting on no conceivable right; it was reserved for the liberal Ministers of Great Britain, who once professed themselves the friends of constitutional liberty all over the world, to assist in the most oppressive crusade against a free people that has disgraced the annals of Europe since the partition of Poland.

The infraction of the Biscayan privileges by the Queen's Ministers was not only an act of gross injustice, but, I repeat it, of incredible folly: by that act they have become involved in an almost interminable war; they have lost army after army; they have enormously increased the burdens of the State, and have exhausted their already impoverished country for an object they may, probably, never attain, and of no practical value if obtained; for, although the Biscayan privileges were considerable, no district of the kingdom, possessing an equal population, contributed more largely than Biscay to the support of the Crown. This province maintained and officered, at its own expense, alike in peace or in war, an army of

fourteen thousand men—kept in complete repair no less than three-and-twenty forts, providing artillery, ammunition, and men; and, in periods of invasion, sent forth a host of independent Guerrillas. In times of unusual peril, they voluntarily made unusual exertions: in 1793 they sent eight thousand men to divert the attack from the royal army; and when the lines were forced by the invading French, they raised, without a sordid scruple, or a dissentient voice, an additional body of sixteen thousand men, and defended the frontiers, and, for a time, repulsed the enemy, with all the characteristic courage and constancy of their country.

The abolition of the Basque privileges is sometimes defended on grounds of general expediency. Spain, it is said, should be governed by equal laws and equal institutions. For the reasons I have just stated, the argument of expediency is not applicable to the case in point; but even if the abolition of the rights in question be likely to promote the common weal, no expectation of remote or even of immediate advantage can redeem the turpitude of such an act: considerations of expediency may authorise a compromise of interests and of feelings,

but no prospective good can justify a positive breach of faith ; no argument of expediency can palliate positive injustice ; no reasoning can maintain a principle of action which, if carried generally into practice, would be alike fatal to public and to private honour.

I will here record, a few, and a few only, of the measures pursued by the Spanish Government, in suppressing the privileges of the Basques ; for, indeed, since the Queen's accession, the civil history of the transactions between that people and the Spanish Crown has been little more than a melancholy repetition of illegal and violent encroachments on the one hand, and determined opposition on the other. Within a few months of Ferdinand's death, contributions were levied on the people under Butron, in utter defiance of the restrictive laws of the land. In January, 1834, the Spanish authorities deprived the people of the important and almost immemorial right of electing their own Alcaldes ; and in the following March contravened the decision of their directing and legislative juntas, and assumed the appointment of the civil police. Castanos's famous proclamation, suspending the Basque privileges, and reserving to himself the " entire power,

control, and jurisdiction" of the country, was followed by the Estatuto Real, which appeared in April, avoided all direct allusion to the Free States, yet, by a general enactment, introduced into that country the electoral law, in virtue of which all the provinces of Spain sent deputies to a common Chamber at Madrid, and thus imposed upon the Basques a right of election unknown to their law, a right which few or none but the partisans of the new system would acknowledge, and completely superseded their native parliaments. Since that period, every act passed by the Spanish Government, affecting the kingdom generally, has, in point of wording, applied equally to the Basque provinces, in favour of which no reservation has been made, although not only the act of legislating at all for Biscay was, on their part, a positive usurpation, but many of their decrees were in direct opposition to the fundamental laws of the Basque states, and none had received the assent of the Basque assemblies.

Had no compact of a conditional nature been concluded between the Governments of Castille and of the free states at the time of their union, the Spanish Government might at present say,

with some shadow of justice, to the inhabitants of the revolted provinces, “ We will, indeed, divest you of your actual rights, but will confer upon you others more consonant to our views, or more conducive to the general interests;” but under the circumstances of the case, the Spanish Government has not a shadow of right to address this language to the Basque; it is not legally or morally justified in sending a single soldier into the Basque states, or in claiming a single farthing from the people, except by virtue of the arrangements made between the Government of Castille and the Legislatures of the provinces at the time of the Union; the Basques promising, at that conjuncture, a perpetual fealty to the Crown, and the Crown engaging, for itself and its successors, to maintain the particular institutions which then existed in Biscay,—not other rights and liberties, which the Spanish Government might, at any future period, desire to substitute in their place. The Basques may say with justice to the Government, “ We do not desiderate the new Constitution you wish to impose upon us; let us possess in peace the antient laws and customs under which we have become prosperous and

happy beyond precedent; we cannot gain; we may materially lose by the "exchange." What results has Spain derived from her constitutional system of 1820 and 1834, but foreign war and internal revolutions, which have divided families, drenched the country with blood, and much retarded the general prosperity?"

And, indeed, their view of the case does not originate in any narrow or exclusive feeling, but is founded on a knowledge of facts, and a judicious calculation of the consequences likely to result from the change.

A traveller, entering the Basque Provinces by the Castillian frontier, is impressed by the great and sudden improvement visible in the appearance of the population, in their dress, in their agriculture, in their very beasts of burden; their cottages are neat, and sometimes beautifully ornamented, and a general air of comfort pervades the country.

Entering Navarre, on the side of Aragon, he is equally struck by indications of increased prosperity; and is agreeably surprised by the astonishing improvement in the roads which are scarcely passable till he reaches the frontier of Navarre, but are afterwards broad, smooth, and kept in the highest order.

These are but the external symptoms of the real difference which prevails between the internal arrangements of the privileged provinces and those which have no especial rights. Taxation for local purposes is really applied, in the privileged states, to the objects for which it is nominally raised; no individual, or body of men, can there embezzle any portion of the public money, which is guarded with a jealous eye, and dispensed with a judicious hand.

Representative government is intended to secure liberty of person, freedom of speech, undisturbed enjoyment of property, and a wise application of the public funds. These advantages the Basques have long enjoyed under their old charters, but under that constitutional system which the Queen's Government is anxious to introduce into their country, it is notorious that the public money has been administered most lavishly, and that life and property have not been always secure. By acceding to the Queen's authority, the Biscayans would not only exchange solid political advantages for showy and unsubstantial good, but, in all probability, for a system entailing the most profuse expenditure, and the most corrupt administra-

tion. How then can we expect that they should submit to such a demand, when justice, law, self-interest, and patriotism, are equally opposed to their acquiescence?

If, then, the Spanish Government have violated privileges, which they were bound by solemn compact to support, the war which they have undertaken against the Biscayans is manifestly oppressive; and as the British Government has adopted their acts, by openly espousing their cause, it has, of course, become involved in their injustice. The accessory is not less guilty than the principal; and this part of the subject I approach with pain. I have no prepossessions which can warp my feelings on the subject:—for although I differ with his Majesty's Ministers on some great questions of internal change, I am no heated or indiscriminating opponent*,—I trust I am not quick to cavil, or slow to praise; I have not sought for matter of objection, but censure, in this instance, would force itself upon the most re-

* It is difficult to speak with any confidence of a measure not yet in general operation; but, judging locally from its actual effects, I think the recent Poor-Law Bill is likely to prove one of the greatest benefits ever conferred upon this country.

luctant, if a candid mind ; and I cannot contemplate our recent policy towards the Basques without feelings of unmingled humiliation at the sullied honour of my country, nor without a strong emotion of resentment at our treatment of a people, whom to know was to admire and love.

I would bring the question home to British bosoms, by supposing a case precisely parallel. If, at the period of the union with Ireland, the English Government had endeavoured to carry that measure into effect without obtaining the consent of the Irish Parliament ; if Ministers had decreed that the Irish Parliament should be considered as absolutely extinguished after a given day, but that Ireland might hereafter send to the English Legislature as many deputies as the English Government, in its wisdom, might choose to permit, offering, at the same time, the stern alternative of instant obedience or the sword ;—if such a crime against freedom and justice had been committed, I do not think “ there breathes a man with soul so dead,” or with so low an estimate of Irish spirit, as to suppose that peer, priest, and peasant, would not have rallied round the standard of insurrec-

tion against an usurping Government. The very name of the Union which linked together the kingdoms of England and of Scotland by one indissoluble tie was hateful to our northern brethren for many years after that event; yet their Union was effected by constitutional means, and received the sanction of the Scotch people solemnly and deliberately expressed in the Scottish parliament. Had this wise attention to legal form and substantial justice been disregarded by the Crown, its subjects north of the Tweed would, I suspect, have forthwith buckled on their claymores, and the tale of Bannockburn might have been repeated in a later age; yet this policy, which would have been execrated by every good man in England, the Spanish Ministers have adopted towards the revolted provinces, and have abolished their national customs, their immemorial laws, and even their representative assemblies: unsupported in this proceeding by any legal or moral right, scorning to consult the wishes of the inhabitants, and without the consent, and even without asking for the consent of those assemblies, which every King of Spain had acknowledged from the time of the Union; which the wiser Sovereigns of

the land had treated with ostentatious respect, and which were avowedly the only legitimate organs of the popular will.

How, then, if Spain has acted with gross injustice towards her subjects, can we exempt from censure the British Government, which has strangely deviated from the established usages of war, to support her in this criminal policy? Justice, unaffected by time or place, moves always on the same eternal springs, and that Government which declared, that one principle of justice should not subsist for the white man, and another for the black, should have felt that a measure most unjust to Ireland, could not, under parallel circumstances, be just to Biscay. But why, if these facts be true and this reasoning be correct, does British indignation sleep, and is British honour silent? Because the real circumstances of the Biscayan struggle are little known or understood in England; because the specious title of a liberal Government in Spain conceals from English eyes the real tyranny of their acts; and, lastly, because the poor victims of our foreign policy are far removed from the pitying observation of the public, and are, therefore, wronged with impunity.

The policy now pursued by our Ministers is strangely at variance with the principles by which they seemed to be actuated when the French marched into Spain in 1823: they then denounced, from the Opposition benches, the policy, or rather crime, as it was styled, of intervention in the internal affairs of other States; and yet the interference of France at that period was not so indefensible as the intervention of Great Britain in the actual contest. It is well known to men who were in France and Spain about that time, that the French invasion was rather founded on a principle of self-preservation than of aggression; it was produced by a dread of Spanish democracy extending into France; by plots on all sides, and rumours of plots; by a great, though undefined, apprehension of danger; by an almost hourly uneasiness; by a state of things difficult to describe but intolerable to endure: but in this instance we have drawn the sword without any cause of alarm, and in unassailed security against a people who have never injured or offended us.

When last a British expedition sailed for Spain, it sailed under circumstances more congenial to a generous mind; it then went forth

to resist the universal Oppressor, not to trample on the oppressed; not influenced by an unhealthy thirst for distinction, but animated by those loyal and patriotic sentiments which can alone justify, and even ennoble, the unchristian trade of war: but now a British force has returned to Spain, under the guidance of an Officer of great talent, but to promote a cause in which they have no natural interest, and, like mercenary bands, to fight for a Sovereign to whom they owe no natural allegiance.

To an Englishman acquainted with the real merits of the war, it is a new, a bitter, a humiliating sensation to feel that in the fortunes of his British countrymen he cannot sympathize—he cannot wish for their defeat; in such a cause, how can he hope for their success? The proud distinction between French and English victories in later times, between the fields of Austerlitz and Waterloo, lies even less in the comparative splendour of those great achievements, than in the different motives by which the impelling powers were actuated. Great Britain fought to rescue, France to enslave the world. Little as we have been as yet accustomed to the sight, I can but ill endure to see oppression

and the British name go hand in hand. I cannot desire for England the brightest laurels, if they be not pure. If our expedition fail, failure will be attended with national disgrace. If, after months of humiliation, it succeed, the triumph of three powerful nations, leagued against a land of mountain patriots, will afford little scope for exultation ; and I shall not envy the feelings of any Englishman returning from the subjugation of a free and gallant people.

If, then, the cause for which we have unsheathed the sword does not deserve our support, the mode of administering our assistance has been equally unworthy of a great nation. Had the interests of England and of justice—for I will never admit that, in the eye of a comprehensive statesman, those interests can be disunited without incurring danger as well as infamy—had those interests required, on our part, an active intervention in the affairs of Spain, the policy of our Government was obvious, and the country would, undoubtedly, have responded to their appeal. If, on the contrary, those interests were unaffected by the existing struggle in Spain, neutrality was the safest, as it was unquestionably the easiest, line to adopt. But the Government

steered a middle, and most unhappy, course : they set in motion a machine which they did not even profess to regulate in its after progress ; they commenced operations over which they could exercise no subsequent control ; they committed the country to an important line of policy ; they took the first and easiest, but the most critical, because the involving step. Then, when foresight, skill, and system were most requisite for the prosperous execution of their schemes, they shifted the responsibility from their own to other hands, and became unaccountable for the consequences of their own acts ; for how can a government be considered answerable for the conduct of an army, or the success of an expedition, neither controlled by the eye of the executive, nor supported by the resources of the state ? They urged upon others the prosecution of an enterprize, from the responsibility of which they shrank themselves ; they resolved upon war, yet abandoned the direction of that war ; by sending out, or at least stimulating a British force to invade a foreign country, they staked the national honour and influence ; they should have felt those sacred interests might be compromised by the

misconduct of the men, or the incapacity of the officers employed, yet the Government and the country would be left without remedy. The Crown had abdicated all authority over that portion of its subjects; but still the nation might suffer by their acts.

Under such an improvident system the national honour, the national arms must be exposed to defeat; an English Officer is placed under the immediate control of a foreign General; and his most strenuous exertions and best considered schemes may be, as they have been, thwarted by the jealousy, or defeated by the folly, of his superior. Are these the influences by which a British legion should be surrounded? Is this the state to which a British Officer should be reduced? Is this a position in which the King and the Country should be placed? Should the honour and influence of Great Britain be consigned to any guardianship but the responsible advisers of the Crown? The national honour is our dearest possession; and shall that alone be placed out of the pale of constitutional law?

The influence of this country should only be exerted when absolutely required for the pro-

tection and advancement of some real interest, and great precaution should be taken, that it be not endangered by the manner in which it is exercised. The influence of nations, as of individuals, is the growth of years, but may be lost in a day.

And, practically, have the national interests received no injury since the sailing of the expedition? Is it no diminution of the national credit in a foreign land, that the military labours of our men and officers, during many consecutive months in Spain, were measured, not by high and honorable achievements, for which, indeed, they had few real opportunities, but by excess of insubordination on the one hand, and extent of punishment on the other? Is it no legitimate matter of national complaint, that so great a portion of that force should have perished under the united influence of disease and the sword, without fulfilling the object for which it was sent out, or even striking one effective blow? Is it no reflection on the foresight of the Government which relied so blindly on promises that could not be performed, that among the unhappy remnant of our almost dissipated legion, mutiny and desertion, produced, in a great measure, by

want of pay, should have succeeded each other in such disgraceful alternation? It is a lowering thought to national pride, that Englishmen should have been encouraged by the Crown to take part in the expedition, and yet, when made prisoners in the exercise of what they were led to believe a lawful vocation, should have been shot as pirates and malefactors. But our Government were, it seems, astonished at the news of their execution, though I do not think that circumstances altogether justified this amazement. I do not know whether our Englishmen might have been admitted to the protection of the cartel under the strict letter of the Convention, but they were, I am of opinion, excluded from its beneficial operation by the spirit of the agreement.

At the time when the Convention was signed, it could not have entered into the mind of either of the contracting parties that the British Government would have adopted a measure almost unprecedented in the annals of civilized nations; would have sent forth a band of English adventurers to serve under Spanish colours, and, availing themselves of this strange departure from the usages of legalized war, have

said to one of the belligerent parties, "You shall extend to troops supplied with arms, ammunition, and equipments from the stores and arsenals of a foreign country, in short to a force in all respects essentially foreign, as to a part of the Spanish army, that protection which, in their natural character of British subjects, they could have no right to expect under the peculiar circumstances of a war in which slaughter is the rule, and mercy the exception." Besides, it must not be forgotten that when the treaty was agreed upon, Zumalacarregui proposed that, in case of the extension of the civil war beyond the limits of Navarre and the three provinces, the convention should have equal force in other parts of Spain; but to this the Christino General refused to accede, confining the operation of the Treaty to the armies carrying on the war in Biscay and Navarre at that particular time. 'Los mismos ejércitos actualmente belligerantes en las provincias Vascongadas y en el Reino de Navarra.' After such a restriction, I hardly think that an English legion, which had no existence at the time of the negociation, could fairly claim protection under a treaty which, by general admission, excludes

from its operation the Gallician, Valentian, Catalanian, and even the Asturian Carlists and Christinos. But to whichever opinion the law of nations, or the strict interpretation of the Eliot Treaty, may incline, the interests of our poor countrymen would have been better consulted, if the British Government had ascertained, before the sailing of the expedition, whether they would or would not be admitted to the benefits of the cartel.

The expedition chimed in with the general views of the Government. Protection was, therefore, presupposed, with that inconsiderate haste which has characterized the whole course of their Spanish policy, and on this gratuitous supposition Don Carlos's decree was denounced by Ministers as a forgery. Our countrymen were, in consequence, reassured, and some were, perhaps, led into the snare by a declaration apparently official in its character, but wholly founded in error.

I am not supporting the Decree of Durango; I sincerely wish it had never been issued. It is severe in principle, and has been severe in its operation. But, before we load Don Carlos with abuse, it may be well to inquire whether

he possessed the power, even if he had the wish to exercise in our favour the blessed prerogative of mercy, surrounded as he was by partizans galled by our interference, and smarting under the recent butchery of their friends.

It must not be forgotten that the Christinos originally confined the benefits of the Eliot Treaty within the narrowest range, and have subsequently acted upon it according to the strictest and harshest interpretation of which it is susceptible. It must be remembered that our present Government had sent an officer to the head-quarters of General Rodil during the period of his greatest atrocities, thereby affording an indirect but powerful sanction to the slaughter of every Carlist who fell into his hands, and, above all, it must be recollected that the old Biscayan law proclaimed death, which even the Sovereign could not legally remit, against every invader of the soil. Undoubtedly that law, "more honoured in the breach than in the observance," was, in a great measure, suspended by the Eliot Treaty; but public opinion was sensibly alive in Biscay to the very intelligible difference drawn by Don Carlos, when he communicated the benefit of the Con-

vention to the Christino forces, and refused it to the British Legion. The Basques, at the period of the signing of the Convention, submitted to a departure from their old enactment, because the treaty was in their opinion fair and impartial, and secured the same advantages to both of the contending parties; but equally convinced that a foreign force was excluded from the protection of the cartel by the whole tenor and animus of the transaction, they were unwilling to sacrifice an iota of their ancient law to benefit a host of foreign invaders, without some reciprocal advantage in return for that concession.

It is easy for men who have never known the miseries of civil war to censure the exasperated feelings of the Basques; but a people struggling *pro aris et focis* cannot afford to be generous; and a British population, opposing a foreign enemy on their native soil, and in defence of their native rights, would, I suspect, under similar circumstances, pursue a similar course. Our Officers of the Legion went out to carry desolation into the heart of a friendly land, for purposes of amusement—to acquire a little distinction; and, as we were told by our Government,

to become practically acquainted with the art of war; while they were actuated by motives so light and so little in accordance with a Christian policy, the Basques were struggling for all that is most dear to the heart of man; and, in the deep and stirring emotions produced by such a contest, were indifferent, when vanquished, to the boon of life, and when victorious had little inclination to stretch a point of law or grace in favour of men who, themselves possessing an ancient and an honoured Constitution, left their own country to deprive others of that inestimable benefit.

But if the censure lavished by our Ministers upon the Durango Decree were only dictated by honest indignation for wrong, why did acts committed by the Constitutional leaders, and sanctioned by the Constitutional Government, and precisely parallel in their nature, excite no corresponding sympathies? When a Frenchman, enlisted in the service of Don Carlos, was put to death by the Queen's Generals, on the ground that France being at peace with Spain he was justly doomed to die by that law of nations which he had infringed, not a doubt was cast on the propriety of the act, not an expres-

sion of censure escaped the lips of our Government. When the same act was repeated on a greater scale by Lopez Baños, long after the signing of the Cartel, the same indifference was shown by our Ministers. In the summer of 1835, a Pole and some Frenchmen, persons of birth and education, who had landed in Spain, to join the standard of Don Carlos, were taken by the Constitutional authorities; and, notwithstanding the humane remonstrances ineffectually made by some officers of the British Legion, were deliberately shot by order of the Commandant of Santander, who pleaded, in his justification, the general but positive instructions of his Government. His Majesty's Ministers cannot deny these facts, and yet they impute blame, and in no measured language, to an unfortunate Prince for doing that which the allies whom they support have done, and which they must, therefore, be supposed to have tacitly sanctioned.

I am, I own, unwilling to enter much at length into the policy of the expedition, because I feel the objection to our share in the transaction is of a higher nature, and that our conduct should be condemned not so much because it is

inexpedient as because it is unjust. But if the principle is bad, the policy is equally defective. To send out British subjects to mix with men in the habitual perpetration of cruelties which no Christian leaders but those of Spain would enjoin, and no Christian Government but Christina's tolerate, is not a happy mode of improving the national character. To send out British subjects to assist an enterprise nominally undertaken for the Queen's support, but really to beat down ancient institutions and old attachments, and, perhaps, to see them eventually return impregnated with the democratic principles of their new associates: in short, in 1835, to renew, at least in this last respect, the game which France played with reference to America in 1789, is not, I think, in the unquiet feeling and under the unsettled circumstances of our own country, the soundest policy which a British statesman could adopt.

Besides, the great military powers may hereafter imitate, for other purposes, with more success, and on a larger scale, the precedent which we have just established. We deprecate the principle, but set the example of interven-

tion in the internal affairs of other states, and we adopt this dubious policy without the dignity that becomes the 'interposition' of a great state. While the real independence of the country should be unflinchingly maintained, it ought not to be forgotten that the peace of Europe essentially depends upon a system of mutual forbearance. Consequently it is not wise to alienate the great northern powers for an object conducive to no British interest whatever, and by an extraordinary deviation from the established usages of war. Must not our influence, even in the cause of humanity, be weakened by our Spanish policy? How can we hereafter, should circumstances appear to require it at our hands, remonstrate with Austria in behalf of her Italian subjects without a ludicrous appearance of insincerity? How can we plead with Russia against Polish persecution, after our treatment of the Basques?

I cannot, moreover, believe that his Majesty's Ministers were advancing the real interests of this country in building up the revolutionary edifice in Spain upon the absolute ruin of the old state of things. For we have only been supporting the Queen nominally; we have been

supporting a party that disclaimed her authority, because the policy pursued by her Ministers was not sufficiently violent. We have been supporting the Juntas of the Provinces, in which all the Jacobinism of Spain was concentrated; Juntas which, by a display of physical force, compelled her Majesty to dismiss an administration in which she had confidence, and to replace them by men more congenial to their views*.

The Royalist party in Spain were sincerely attached to England; their hatred of the French Revolution had bound them to this country by a common principle; the generous and effective aid administered by Great Britain riveted that attachment, and although during the great Peninsular contest the full force and expression of that feeling may have been, in some degree, repressed by the petty jealousies of the hour, and the obvious and somewhat humbling inferiority of the Spaniards in discipline and organization, still the memory of our services sank deep in the hearts of the Royalists, and inclined them most favourably to Great Britain. God grant that our recent policy may not have

* M. Mendizabal was forced upon the Queen by the insurrection of the Juntas.

converted that gratitude into lasting resentment!

But the prevailing party in Spain, although, in the humiliating state of their external relations, they gladly avail themselves of the protection which Great Britain has been so eager to grant, is, and has been, for many years, opposed to English interests. The successful result of our exertions in the Peninsular war, which secured to us the attachment of the Royalist, in some degree alienated from us the affections of the Liberal party. Strangers to that high sense of national independence, so characteristic of the uncorrupted Spaniard, they frequently asserted that England had perpetuated their domestic servitude, and said they would have readily exchanged their old laws, and their ancient dynasty, for the more uniform code of France, and for a foreign Master—himself the slave of a foreign despot.

Times are changed: they have now a Constitution, and are in close alliance with England; for the moment, the necessities of their situation allow them no alternative, but their desire for English connexion has not increased, because their real views and principles are hostile

to the system upon which the Government is conducted and society is based in England. They hate us for our Established Church; they hate us for our laws of primogeniture; they hate us for our House of Lords. Desirous of rooting out the last vestiges of aristocratic institutions in their own country, they abhor a system of liberty, preserved and tempered, as it is in England, by a graduated subordination of ranks, and by aristocratic checks. They detest a system which has long proved that a civil and ecclesiastical aristocracy can co-exist with a large measure of practical freedom; in short, they secretly dislike a country whose example refutes their reasoning, and whose influence, if wisely exerted, would, in some degree, oblige them to respect those interests at home.

Those interests they will not respect when they can safely unmask their views; for their notions of civil government are essentially republican*: French centralization, French insti-

* The proposed division of the Spanish territory into districts is one among many proofs of this tendency in the liberal party, and is a servile imitation of the departmental system of France. The old names should be sedulously retained: with respect to the old provincial privileges, their abolition is favourable to a system of republican equality, but it is equally favourable to the views of despotism. The proud attachment of the Spaniards to the provincial distinctions is akin to the spirit of liberty; it

tutions divested, however, of the upper Chamber and perhaps the Crown, and a system of property modelled on that of France, are the great objects of their desire. A dispassionate conviction, upon general principles, of the superior advantages attending British connexion, will be more than counterbalanced in the eyes of the ruling party, by that gradual approximation to the French system which a closer connexion with France would more certainly and easily induce. To this system they will steadfastly incline, partly from opinion, partly from the desire of aggrandizing their own faction upon the ruin of the old interests of the country, and, in some degree, for the gratification of party resentments.

It may be said that I have exaggerated the political bias of the prevailing party in Spain ;

serves as a strong though somewhat irregular rampart against the foreign invader and the domestic tyrant: as long as these distinctions are preserved, the germs of freedom can never be wholly destroyed; but when the country is placed under a completely uniform system; when prefectures are established in every district, patronage, with its wide-spreading corruption, takes the place of ancient privilege, and despotism can be more easily established. In a common hatred of the old provincial privileges, the French democrat and his imperial master were agreed. From their destruction the democrat expects the establishment of uniform rights—the tyrant, with more reason, of uniform despotism.

but let us refer to the recorded language of men who may be said to represent the opinions, as they constitute an influential portion, of the liberal party in Spain. When the amnesty by which the emigrant Spaniards were restored to Spain was promulgated, it might have been supposed that some gratitude would have mingled with the prospect of a return to their native country; that a more extended intercourse with the world would have made the banished patriots doubt the soundness of their old subversive schemes; that affliction would have taught them charity, and the result of former errors would have induced a moderation unknown to their earlier years : on the contrary, even in the first moment of mutual congratulation, many of them, unmoved by this act of spontaneous kindness on the part of the Crown, drew up an address to the Queen, in which they denounced prescriptive rights, and called upon the Government to reject half measures as unsuited to the time ; to cut the Gordian knot, and to confiscate the property of the Church, as the legitimate possession of the people, and an usurpation of the soil, thereby annihilating their enemies

by a single stroke *. Could any temperate or conciliating policy be expected from men who received an act of grace with such a determination to attack the most sacred principles upon which property can be based, and with such a vindictive expression of hostility to the most revered and influential order of the State? I cannot think that British interests,* already oppressed by the democracy of the time, are likely to be

* "The reverse will be the result of your Majesty's laudable intentions, unless, with an energetic resolution, you cut the Gordian knot, &c. &c. &c. Cut, then, this knot, and, by that single stroke, your Majesty will annihilate all your enemies. The means of effecting this, are to issue a decree, by which the people shall be invested with the territorial possessions of the clergy. Those enormous riches have been acquired only by divine right, and are robberies committed against the community; first, by the donations of kings, who snatched from the grasp of the Moors what the Moors had previously taken from the Spaniards; and as it is self-evident that the Spanish soil is not an article of merchandise imported from Africa, hence the injustice of confiscating the land, and bestowing it on the clergy, instead of restoring it to the people to whom that land belonged before the invasion of the Moors. In the second place, the surplus riches of the clergy were acquired by testamentary clauses wrung on their death-bed from the wealthy, affrighted by menaces and suggestions. Your Majesty perceives, then, that the possessions of the clergy legitimately belong to the people, from whom in various ways they have been stolen; for which reason those possessions, &c. &c. &c. Timid counsellors may lead your Majesty to apprehend the defection of the clergy; but fear it not; for the people, gained by the reform, will not join them, or take arms in behalf of those who have usurped their lawful patrimony." This document is to be found at length in the work of the Baron de Los Vallos.

advanced by an intimate and still increasing alliance with such a party.

We are told by the Government, that in favouring the progress of the revolution in Spain, they have promoted the best interests of Great Britain. Our Ministers have acknowledged the Queen's authority; they have entered into a treaty to support her claims by a naval armament; they have furnished her with an enormous supply of arms, at a large cost, to prosecute a war against her own subjects; they have permitted her to enlist troops in this country, and have stimulated our countrymen to enlist under her banners. Finally, they have exceeded the provisions of the treaty by which they pretend to be guided, and making an unintelligible distinction between co-operation and intervention, have sent our Marines to take an active part in the struggle. The pitiable exhibitions of the British Legion, for months inactive, and now apparently dissolving under the combined effects of desertion and defeat; and the distant and discreet co-operation of the Marines at St. Sebastian, with their unfortunately rapid retreat before an inferior force at Fontarabia, are circumstances that have drawn

largely on the ridicule of Europe, and reflect no lustre on the policy which placed those brave men in such an unseemly predicament. M. Mendizabal's government was therefore bound, by a thousand obligations, to an Administration which so good-naturedly incurred this heavy sacrifice of credit in his behalf.

How was that debt acknowledged at a time when benefits were recent, and gratitude for past favours was stimulated by the hope of further assistance? Surely, if not by a return of solid and substantial benefits, at least by a preponderating increase of British influence over the councils of Spain, by a disposition to take our advice, and accede to our wishes. Lord Melbourne, however, whose government has conferred so many obligations on the Spanish Administration, frankly admits that he has vainly endeavoured to check the atrocities of the war. Yet our late Government, which showed no peculiar sympathy with the Queen's cause, succeeded, during its brief term of power, in humanizing the contest, as far as it then extended.

Had not this country stooped from the high position which she occupied as a neutral power, our Ministers might have retained an equal and

steady influence over the councils of the two conflicting parties; they might have successfully assumed the blessed office of mediation, and moderated the excesses of both; but their unwise interference has naturally deprived them of all weight with Don Carlos, with the Basques, and that large portion of the Spanish people against whom they have acted; while, by their own admission, they are utterly unable to direct the councils of their allies to any beneficial purposes. We have therefore abandoned a dignified and advantageous position without obtaining any compensation for that loss.

The marked decline of British influence is strongly proved by the circumstances which followed the murder of Cabrera's mother: an act damning to the Generals who committed it, to the party that approved it, and to the Government that did not avenge it. When questioned on this point, our Ministers stated, exultingly, that as soon as the intelligence of the crime arrived in England, they wrote to Madrid, they demanded satisfaction, Mr. Villiers waited on the Prime Minister, and Nogu  ras was, in consequence, deprived of his command. To punish the subordinate ruffian, by whose hesitating

hand the offence was committed, and yet to spare—no, not to spare, but to retain in a post of the highest confidence—and even to honour with still more important duties the master spirit, by whom the monstrous order was deliberately given, would not, in other times, have been considered a triumphant vindication of British honour, or quite consistent with our good old notions of equal justice and equal law. This juggling attempt to defeat the ends of justice, under a semblance of fervour in its cause, and thus impose upon the common sense of mankind, may be a species of atonement compatible with the principles of a Spanish Government; but British honour, compromised by the acts of her sworn allies, is ill appeased by a hollow satisfaction, which it was, at once, an insult to offer, and a degradation to accept*.

* It seems that Mina, shrinking from the abhorrence created by this act, has endeavoured to justify himself by stating that Cabrera's mother was not executed by way of reprisal, but on account of her participation in a conspiracy detected by the Government itself, and in virtue of a sentence regularly passed upon her. If this be true, it is somewhat singular, that when our Government demanded satisfaction for that outrage from the Court of Madrid, the Spanish Ministers not only suppressed this plain and satisfactory solution of the matter, but, on the contrary, in deference to our remonstrance, proceeded to punish, not indeed the author of the crime, but the subordinate agent who carried it into execution. Why was Noguéras dismissed?

But still more recently, the utter failure of British influence at Madrid was manifested on a point immediately connected with British interests. It is well known, that a gentleman connected with one of our leading journals * resided at Madrid, and supplied the press with information of peculiar accuracy, and of great importance to individuals in this country, who were disposed to embark in Spanish speculations. Yet, because he ventured to warn his deluded countrymen against ruin in the shape of false representations, and held up to them the naked truth, he was arrested and forcibly conveyed to the frontier, in spite of the regret expressed by the British Minister, who openly deplored the outrage he had not the influence to prevent †.

from his command, and of what offence was he guilty, if Cabrera's mother was executed in virtue of a sentence of law ?

* The Morning Herald.

† I am far from attributing to Mr. Villiers the decline of British influence in Spain. On the contrary, it has declined, not in consequence of any remissness on his part, but in spite of his abilities and exertions to sustain it. With an acute understanding and a perfect knowledge of the world, he combines in a singular degree that *suaviter in modo et fortiter in re* which is invaluable in all diplomatic intercourse with the people and statesmen of the South; but the unfortunate policy we have latterly pursued towards Spain would have neutralized the efforts of any minister.

There was a time when Englishmen were considered safe in every part of the civilized world ; there was a time when an outrage committed on the person of a British subject by Spaniards, and not redressed by the Spanish Government, threw down upon that people the whole weight of British indignation ; — but that time is past, and the violation of British rights, which was considered, in better days, a sufficient cause for war, is not, at present, deemed worthy of a remonstrance.

Why has our influence so utterly declined at Madrid ? Because our Government has misconceived the character of the parties with which it has to deal ; because it has stimulated that revolution which it should have endeavoured, not, perhaps, to thwart, but to moderate ; because it has courted familiarity when it should have ensured respect ; because, by an improvident treaty, it has hampered the free agency of their own, and of every succeeding administration ; because, continually halting between indirect and positive intervention, — now sending troops to Spain, not commissioned, — now directing the paid forces of the kingdom against a party unknown to the state and with which we are

not at war; they have led us into a maze of incongruities, have compromised us hopelessly with the mass of the Spanish nation, and have at length pledged themselves so deeply to the revolution, that they have scarcely the power, even if they had the wish, to recede. Of this, our Spanish allies are fully aware, and of this they take ample advantage.

From the principles avowed by the leaders of the liberal party, and from their increasing ascendancy over the councils of Madrid, I can hardly think it probable that what yet survives of the aristocratic institutions in Spain is very likely to be long preserved under the existing influences. There was a time, and not remote—God grant that period may not have passed away entirely!—when a constitutional system might have been successfully introduced into Spain; there were elements which would have facilitated the formation of a balanced system of government; but the utter dereliction of justice, the disregard of life and property, the desecration of the religious houses, and the contempt for every national prejudice, that both now and in 1820 have accompanied the progress of the constitutional régime, have so completely

connected, in the minds of a large majority of the nation, free institutions with all that freemen should most abhor, that any experiment of that nature, never easy of execution, will have increased difficulties to contend with in the lifetime of the actual generation.

Be this as it may, it is clear to every man acquainted with the present state of Spain, that, excepting in the privileged provinces, where the contest is most effectively maintained, and maintained on mixed and peculiar grounds, the struggle in other parts of the kingdom is almost exclusively between those who wish to preserve, perhaps too unreservedly, but still in accordance with the general feeling of the people, and those who wish not to reform, but absolutely to destroy.

Taking this view of the question only, and excluding, for a moment, from our consideration our revolting treatment of the Basques, I cannot think that it was prudent in a British Administration to depart from that neutrality which substantially was power, and to adopt one of two extreme parties, with neither of which a British statesman could wholly sympathize; but least of all was it conducive to British in-

terests, to push forward revolution in Spain by active intervention, and thereby strengthen the revolutionary impulse at home and all over Europe.

The discussions which have lately engrossed the attention of our legislature, on points of great domestic interest, have generally turned rather upon the extent than upon the expediency of reform. These points, and others more of degree than of principle, will soon be disposed of, and we shall then stand upon the threshold of those more important questions, whose serious consideration cannot be very long warded off. It will then remain to be seen whether we can still preserve the principle of those institutions, upon which hang not only the mixed character of our peculiar system of Government, but the whole structure of society as it exists in England.

Whatever may be the relative strength of parties when that day of trial comes, of this I feel sure, that, under the present rapid system of general communication, no political changes occurring in one part of Europe can be without their influence on another; and the disappearance of the old institutions, and perhaps of even

the privileged orders, from a country so important, and that has been for ages so eminently aristocratic as Spain, by habituating the British mind to changes of that description as the almost inevitable result of the tendency of the times, when it is, to a great extent, the effect of our own policy, will render it infinitely more difficult for any British Government to battle successfully in favour of institutions which we pretend to respect at home, but which we have condemned abroad.

Great internal changes have taken place in continental states, with a rapidity of imitation that would be almost ridiculous if their results upon the happiness of mankind were not too serious to admit of any but the gravest reflection. Spain was revolutionized in the spring of 1820, Portugal followed her example in the same year, and Naples in the autumn. Piedmont took precedence in the spring of 1821, and was immediately followed by the famous Greek Revolution.

We are not liable, it is true, to such extreme and sudden revulsions, but it is a great mistake to suppose that we are not sensibly affected by the internal policy of other states. The Revo-

lution of Paris in 1830, which overturned the King of Holland's Government in the Netherlands, and led to the Polish Insurrection, had a powerful effect in England, and gave an impulse to the popular mind which, being communicated at the crisis of a general election, unquestionably accelerated, if it did not produce, the changes we have witnessed at home.

I cannot, then, be of opinion that it was prudent in the Ministers of the Crown to stimulate by undeserved praise and active assistance the revolutionary Government of Spain, either with reference to the political prepossessions and general state of the parties now dividing that country, or, indeed, with reference to Spain itself as a part of the European community.

Strict neutrality would have been our wisest policy. It is an object of great importance that England should be upon friendly terms with Spain, and I do not think that object likely to be advanced by sending * a British force to in-

* It may be said that the Government permitted the legion to embark for Spain, but did not send them out. A British public looks to things, and is not misled by words; a government that repeals the existing law to enable a particular force to go out for a particular purpose, and supplies them with arms to carry their intentions into effect, virtually sends out that force, and no sophistry can prejudice this plain view of the question.

terfere in a dispute of a purely domestic character, and in opposition to a numerous and influential party in the country. But we were bound by treaty, I have heard it said. Bound!—and to what? Not to declare war, for war we have not declared, but to take a step almost unprecedented in the military practice and contrary to the established usages of Europe. This reasoning cannot hold as an exculpation of our policy. Besides, the treaty in question was framed, or at least signed, by Lord Palmerston, and if the acts, committed under the sanction and in pursuance of the spirit of that agreement, be impolitic and unjust, the treaty itself was wholly indefensible.

We have considered the justice and policy of the war; let us, for a moment, review the conduct of that Spanish Government for which we have made large sacrifices of honour and good faith. On what principles has the civil war been conducted? On the part of the Queen's Government by a system of massacre abhorrent to every virtuous and manly feeling, and never exceeded by the worst men in the worst state of society.

When Lord Palmerston so severely censures

Don Carlos for his Durango Decree, does he forget that General Rodil, whom his Lordship honoured with a special envoy at his camp in Biscay, when in Estremadura, and long before the conflicting parties had become exasperated by mutual acts of cruelty, overtook, seized, and put to death, fourteen domestics of the Prince; men said to have been helpless and unarmed, and not accused of any crime but that of following into exile the master whom they had served for years, and would not abandon him in falling fortunes? This was an act intended by its ferocious author to wound the Prince through the medium of his kindest affections, and was calculated to banish every feeling of charity from his bosom towards those who perpetrated the deed, and towards the foreigners who afterwards supported them.

I do not think the moral people of this country can admire a system under which the General of the Spanish forces*, at once the tool and, before his defeat, the idol of his Government, commanded every fifth inhabitant of a certain place to be put to death, and carried that sentence into execution, because they had neglected

* General Mina.

to afford him the requisite amount of information as to the movements of a Carlist battalion. The sterling sense of England repudiates that species of liberty under which the peasants of the Bastan were murdered, because, blindfolded, and without the power of disobeying their employers, they had been compelled to bury some Carlist pieces; it abhors the conduct of that Chief who never gave quarter during his command, and after a battle butchered every prisoner in cold blood; at a time, too, when the sick and wounded Constitutionalists were taken into the Carlist hospitals, and tended with that generous solicitude which a brother in adversity receives from gallant men; and when, in the commencement of the war, Zumalacarregui took the fort of Echari Arenas, and, in return for the unsparing slaughter of his countrymen, bestowed upon his Constitutional prisoners the free gift of liberty and life, and actually sent an escort to protect the liberated soldiers from the vengeance of the people as far as Pampelunã, what, under such circumstances, will English faith and honour say of him who, basely violating every law of civilized warfare, and every obligation of gratitude, seized that escort, and imprisoned them in the

dungeons of the city, where they might have been languishing at the present hour if Lord Eliot had not honourably insisted on their deliverance?—and, finally, can even Christian charity find an excuse for one who punished the unfortunate surgeon with death, because, in contravention of his ferocious edict*, and yielding to the better feelings of our nature, that humane Christino ventured to assuage the last earthly sufferings of a dying Carlist?

These are not laws against the Carlists only, these are laws against every generous sentiment, injunctions against every Christian duty. Can words express our horror at the conduct of this man and the Administration which supported him? Yes, there is one emotion stronger in the bosom of an Englishman, for indignation at this wickedness is lost in sorrow that our Ministers should have appeared to countenance their acts by lauding at home that barbarous Government and assisting it by our arms abroad.

We have considered the principles upon which the Crown of Spain has acted with reference to the Basques. I see no indications of

* An edict issued by Mina, in which any medical assistance to a wounded or even dying Carlist was punishable by death.

a wiser policy towards the rest of its subjects; few, if any, real abuses have been corrected, while a system of unsparing hostility has been carried on against every institution endeared to the people, either by their prejudices, their faith, or the experience of ages. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the monastic establishments were deeply rooted in the national affection, though always marked out as objects of hatred and plunder by the democratic party in the towns. I have stated, in an earlier part of my work, that I differ widely from the view generally taken of the inutility of these institutions—at least, of the wealthier institutions of the kind.

Not only are the conventual territories generally kept in a state of the highest cultivation, and sometimes land of a sterile character rendered productive by a wise application of capital; not only are the neighbouring poor largely employed, and their condition, in consequence, greatly improved, but the convents in Spain frequently supplied the place of local banks, and in a country singularly destitute of such institutions, were often productive of extensive benefit, by advancing money for agricultural and

local improvements, upon the most reasonable terms, and receiving rent charges and mortgages as security. As active and intelligent proprietors, stimulating industry, and facilitating transactions, the monks were often useful; as spiritual and temporal advisers of the people, benefiting them by their advice, arbitrating between their differences, softening their manners, and exercising an almost unbounded influence over their minds, they supplied the place of a gentry, which had long ceased to reside in the provinces, and whose desertion of their native districts would have been otherwise more deeply and extensively felt; to the Government, while it treated them with kindness and consideration, their services were invaluable in the rural districts of Spain, where influence and habit have always superseded the more direct operation of law, and where law will be comparatively ineffective for many years to come. Taxes which might have been evaded with facility, were often paid through their agency; local disturbances, through their assistance, were quickly appeased, and a general spirit of loyalty preserved; in periods of national difficulty and distress, the wealthier

convents have not unfrequently conferred still more substantial benefits upon the state; and in a spirit of disinterested attachment not often found in great public bodies, have sometimes relieved, by large and spontaneous contributions, the necessities of the Crown. The hasty and ill-timed abolition of the Convents has increased the difficulty of governing the country, by increasing the general distress. The poor, deprived of their accustomed relief at the convent gates, have, in many places, been rendered disaffected by this measure; and a question of Poor Laws may possibly be forced on the Government at a time when the Constitution is unsettled, and when the country is not sufficiently tranquil, or the legislature sufficiently free from great and pressing embarrassments, to give that important subject a full and dispassionate consideration.

To alienate the monks and abolish the convents was, I think, most unwise;—the conduct pursued in effecting this object was positively wicked.

I will now allude briefly to some of the persecutions inflicted upon the regular clergy since the accession of the Queen's Government. Upon

one occasion, a mob collected before the convent of the Jesuits, at Madrid, in the street of Toledo ; —the doors of the edifice were forced open, and a massacre of the monks ensued. On the same evening, the head convent of the Franciscans was attacked ; they defended themselves for a long time with the most heroic courage : but the convent was at length taken, and no less than forty of its inmates were deliberately butchered. Yet, several battalions of the Queen's army were present, and saw the carnage without emotion ; not a man stepped forward in their defence, and not an officer of that degraded force exerted himself to save those victims of the popular rage ;—yet, to these monks no crime had been imputed, and against them no accusation had been even raised.

On the same evening, the head convent of the Dominicans, the convent of the Carmelites, and many other monasteries, were destroyed, although the armed force in Madrid might have easily suppressed the tumult.

These striking displays of liberal energy were imitated in the provinces, and repeated with still greater success. The indignation felt by the Ministers of foreign powers had compelled

the Spanish Government to take some notice of crimes which had dyed the streets of the capital with the blood of innocent men ; but in the provinces, these acts were renewed by the Liberals, under the approving eye of the constituted authorities.

The result of these proceedings was obvious : Forbidden to keep arms for their own defence, and unprotected by the natural guardians of the law, the monks were compelled, under the hourly dread of assassination, to desert their once peaceful halls and well-cultivated fields ; too fortunate if, in that hour of persecution, they could obtain from a compassionate and still revering peasantry, some portion of that sustenance which they, in more prosperous times, had never denied to the poor and to the suppliant ; and happy, too happy, if, under the wretched roof of some lowly but sincere adherent of the faith, they could at once conceal their miseries and their proscribed persons from the dangerous observation of their enemies.

The convents, in consequence, became in many places reluctantly deserted by their lawful tenants, who did not venture to remain ; upon which the Government quietly seized upon their

lands and upon all their effects, in virtue of a decree which, in a spirit prophetic of coming events, they had lately promulgated,—“that if any ecclesiastics should quit the kingdom without licence, possession should be taken of their temporalities,”—with this monstrous addition, “that no other proof of the flight of the ecclesiastic from the kingdom was requisite than public report.”

As the endangered monks necessarily sought concealment, public report was a creature wholly at the command of the liberal inquisitor, and that monk was often declared a voluntary exile from his native land, who was perhaps at the very moment pining in the last state of indigence within the limits of his former territory. The Government first decreed, “that any ecclesiastics who had left the kingdom,” for which no proof but flight was requisite, “should by that act have forfeited their property ;” and then, by excluding them from the protection of the law the Government rendered flight almost inevitable, and thus brought them within the range of the confiscating edict. By this subtle and iniquitous policy they succeeded, at least to a great extent, in gratifying the animosity of the

Liberals by the destruction of the monastic establishments without alarming the great European powers by an act of manifest spoliation.

But among the Spanish monks there were men, not only intrepid in the faith but staunch in the defence of their legal rights; men who would not be induced by the murder of their companions, and by their own imminent peril, to desert their ancient halls. Against these obstinate proprietors another process was adopted. The Government had decreed, "that any ecclesiastic who should be guilty of providing the rebels with arms, money, &c.,—of receiving them, inducing persons to join them, or exciting movements, or sedition, should have their temporalities confiscated," &c., &c.

To the letter of that decree no objection could be fairly raised if it had been carried into effect with fairness; but when men were summoned to rebut charges so easily made, so difficult to be disproved, of so vague a description, and before individuals pre-determined to effect their ruin—the deposition of a discarded menial was proof sufficient to decide their fate—the vaguest hearsay allegation from

a liberal opponent was an excess of testimony; and although property was at stake,—property dear to freemen as their lives, not only the spirit of justice but the very form of a trial was declared by a Constitutional Government to be unnecessary in their case, and the confiscation of all their effects was only preceded by a short investigation before a local functionary, whose decision might be pronounced with certainty before the examination commenced. Justice was then declared in pompous terms to be satisfied, and no further measures to be requisite.

By such iniquitous means the Spanish monks, who had sacrificed all other and better prospects to their profession, became in many instances deprived not only of a comfortable provision for life, but of the means of subsistence, frequently by an unjust sentence, upon an ill-supported accusation, and sometimes in the evening of life; yet these were men to whom the people had long looked up with reverence, and now regard as martyrs.

Since that period the open march of revolution has dispensed with the assistance of collusive measures; the convents have, with few

exceptions, been suppressed by a general edict; and although the exiled monks have been promised a paltry pension, as some compensation for the easy competence which they previously enjoyed, even that inadequate allowance is ill-secured, is practically so limited by conditions, and so irregularly paid, that many of these poor pensioners are reduced to a condition of the lowest misery.

It is well known in Spain that, even in the revolted provinces, a portion of the secular clergy espoused the Queen's cause with considerable warmth at the commencement of the contest, but the contributions unjustly levied upon them by the Christino generals, and the insults with which they were frequently treated by the Christino soldiery, alienated their affections, and produced a revulsion of feeling which materially strengthened the Carlists, and gave a fresh impulse to the civil war.

Such has been the course pursued by the Liberal party towards the Church, in the earlier part of the present revolution; but the massacre of monks, and the destruction of convents by fire have again taken place and have signalised the progress of misrule under the Queen's Go-

vernment. Have the guilty agents suffered for these more recent acts of outrage, committed not secretly, but in the presence of numbers? that question requires no reply,—the sufferers, guiltless of any crime against the state, were yet attached, or supposed to be attached, to the old order of things, and were consequently excluded from the protection of the law.

The famous massacre at Barcelona is not exceeded in horror by the worst excess of Revolutionary France,—yet, has it been avenged with that stern promptitude which might have been expected from a vigorous Government, and a party impatient of enduring the reproach of such a stain? The Chamber of Proceres refused to institute an inquiry; the Government declined to take cognizance of such an insignificant transaction as the butchery of many unarmed and helpless Carlists, committed in the broad light of day, and perpetrated by weapons supplied to the Christinos by our Government; and, even now, the murderers boast openly of their exploit, and bask in the favour of the local authorities.

Let my readers pause for a moment, to reflect upon the nature of these dreadful and still un-

punished excesses; let them remember that still more recently at Saragossa, after the regular trial of some individuals suspected of Carlist opinions, and even after the announcement of their sentence, the Liberal party compelled the judges to re-try the prisoners,—to reverse the solemnly recorded opinion of the preceding day, and to substitute the penalty of death for the mitigated punishment of a few years' transportation, which those very judges had declared sufficient for the alleged offence. Let them call to mind the massacres of Murcia, Valentia, Figueras, and other atrocities, which I have neither space, nor wish to recapitulate; but above all, let them remember the deliberate murder of a woman by the Queen's representative at Barcelona,—a woman convicted of no crime, but of too great love for her son, and too great devotion to her God!—a woman whose every hair on her head was white with age, and who, if her friends speak truly, was no less venerable for her virtues than her years!—yet she, because her son escaped from his pursuers, was sentenced to receive, upon her bended and tottering knees, the punishment due to his reputed crimes. Let my readers call to mind this still

unavenged and most inexpiable outrage upon every human feeling, and they will not suspect me of exaggerating the weakness and wickedness of the ruling party in Spain; or of overstating the fact when I say, what is indisputably the truth, that almost every town and district in which the Queen's authority predominates, is fearfully marked by the prevalence of popular and official crime.

To what strange cause is this extensive and utter perversion of law and justice to be attributed? Does it arise on the part of the executive from want of power to restrain, or from want of will to punish wrong? If it originate in want of power, wretched, indeed, is that unhappy country which is entrusted to such inefficient hands! If it result from want of will, our language furnishes no term too strong to designate the character of such a Government. Yet with M. Mendizabal's government, the government which sanctioned these acts, were his Majesty's Ministers in close alliance, and that Government, which sympathized not with the popular interests, but with the popular excesses, they described in the King's speech as prudent and vigorous. Did they allude to the prudence

that paralyses, or to the vigour that sets at nought the law?

An injudicious expression in the King's speech is seldom attended with serious consequences, but the unlucky words, to which I refer, were not merely inaccurate, but pregnant with mischief. I foresaw and deprecated the effect which that expression of opinion was certain to produce upon the Spanish Government and their liberal friends. Difficult to reclaim from their savage and half civilized habits, they were sure to be confirmed in their career of guilt by such an ill-timed and inappropriate praise of their domestic policy; for, at the very time when those expressions were inserted in the King's speech, and, consequently, circulated through every city of Spain, the war was carrying on upon a system abhorrent to every Christian principle, at least, in the districts to which the Eliot Convention was not applicable; massacres were committed in the towns by the Queen's party, and innocent blood was crying in vain, from all parts of the kingdom, for the impartial vengeance of the law; that vengeance was withheld: and yet, at such a crisis of the Spanish revolution, we heard the prudence and

vigour of their government extolled. Those ill-advised expressions were positively a premium upon Spanish crime. •

During the debates upon the address, Lord Palmerston unquestionably expressed his disapprobation of the cruelties in question; but the Spanish Government were sure to turn from any mere speech to the approving language of the throne, unmixed, as it was, with a particle of censure. They regarded it as the spontaneous effusion of the British cabinet, and naturally, though, I am sure, erroneously believed, that any after-expressions of disgust were only a reluctant homage to that general burst of English indignation which pervaded every portion of the House at the recital of those acts, and not the real expression of the ministerial sentiments. And what was the result? Immediately after the King's speech, Spanish atrocities increased to a great extent; the Eliot Convention was more decidedly violated, and the Queen's Generals, at length, committed that crowning act of butchery which introduced a new element of horror into the war; I mean, that system of female murder, • compared with

which, their previous crimes seem venial, and at which every instinct of the mind recoils.

Even if our Ministers, according to their views of British interests, were justified in sending an expedition against the Royalists, they were still bound, by every high and manly feeling, not to have dissented coldly from such a system of horrors, but, at once, to have relieved themselves and their country from the withering suspicion of having given the faintest, or most indirect encouragement to such a criminal policy. The indignant language of our Ministers should have marked their generous abhorrence of the proceedings of the Spanish Government. We will not disgrace ourselves by becoming accomplices in your acts of massacre, they should have said, nor will we assist you to disgrace yourselves; we will not brutalize our troops by familiarity, not with war, but with murder. The treaty binds us to furnish you with arms for the prosecution of legitimate war, not for the execrable purposes to which you have applied them; you shall have no stores from our arsenals, you shall have no men from our islands until you have adopted the usages of civilized nations,

and have abandoned practices shameful to the country which acknowledges you, and to the age in which we live. This would have been language worthy of a British Government.

I confess I am one of those old fashioned individuals who believe that, in almost every contingency, that policy will, upon the whole, be most advantageous to a nation which is most subservient to the great interests of justice and morality. I believe that, under the blessing of God, British influence at the close of the revolutionary war attained its powerful ascendancy abroad, not only from the vigour, but quite as much from the acknowledged justice and humanity of our general policy *. Divest us of those truly British qualities, and I believe that our national influence would decline.

Most unquestionably, in the course of the war, the Carlists have committed cruelties which

* I remember being forcibly impressed in the year 1821 with the respect, and almost veneration, felt for the British character not only by the Spanish Royalists, but even by the remote and uncivilized Moors. "Are you a Frenchman?" I was often asked in Barbary, with a lowering countenance. "No." "Are you a Spaniard?" with a still more sinister aspect. "No." "Are you, then, an Englishman?" with a smoothed brow, and in a more cheerful voice. "Yes." "Right and good, they are an honest people."

cannot be defended, and indeed can only be palliated by the great provocation received. That dreadful instance of severe retaliation in which the son triumphed over the man, and filial vengeance sacrificed so many innocent women at the shrine of a murdered mother, is fresh in our recollection. Still if the writer endeavour to strike the balance impartially, and attribute to each faction, as honestly and as nearly as possible, the real portion of guilt incurred in these odious transactions, he will be compelled to admit that the great cruelties so characteristic of this war, appear to have originated with the Christinos, and to have been mainly kept up by the Queen's Generals. The formation of the first powerful Guerrilla, in the Carlist interest, seems to have been principally produced by the execution of Santos Ladron, in direct breach of a promise given to the inhabitants of Pampluna, that his life would be respected. The practice of visiting the sins of men upon their female relations, originated with the Queen's Officers. During the early days of the revolt, Zumalacarregui endeavoured to divest the war of its unnatural horrors; and though prepared to meet the severities of his opponents, by as stern

a policy, he yet attempted, at first by example, and afterwards by positive negociation, to substitute a milder system; and at the time of the Eliot negociation, he proved the sincerity of his previous professions, by striving, though ineffectually, to extend the operation of the cartel, and thus give greater efficacy to that labour of love and mercy.

It must also be remembered that orders for the execution of the captured Carlists were issued by an established Government, and carried into execution by leaders regularly appointed, having under their command disciplined forces, and holding possession of the towns where they had ample accommodation for their prisoners.

However much we may deprecate some passages in the life of that extraordinary man, who appears to have combined with great military talents some of the most chivalrous and winning qualities of our nature, we cannot, without manifest partiality, refrain from acknowledging the merit of Zumalacarregui, in seeking to abolish the practice of putting the prisoners to death, because such an arrangement would not have been conducive to his interest, and could there-

fore only have originated in motives of humanity. At that early period of the war it was extremely difficult for any self-appointed leader to keep together a large organized force, and, consequently, that chief was likely to be the most popular who most humoured the exasperated feelings of his partizans; besides, not having possession of the towns, it was no easy matter to keep the prisoners at all, and a choice was frequently to be made between the execution or liberation of men, upon whose honour they could not rely; in short, when that humane proposal was made by the Royalists, and foolishly rejected by their opponents, the Christinos would have reaped all the advantages of that arrangement, if it had been agreed upon, because, from the greater facilities which, in that peculiar country, the invader enjoys over the invader, the Carlists actually had, at that time, and were in the daily habit of taking, by far the largest number of prisoners.

But an extreme discrepancy between profession and practice has been for years distinctive of the Spanish Liberals; in the great Rebellion of 1822, a Government professing to be based on the most enlightened principles, and

to be actuated by feelings of universal philanthropy, introduced, and carried into practice the dreadful system of utter extermination. Fearfully, indeed, has their example been followed by their Constitutional successors !

During the last few months the progress of the Carlists, chequered, it is true, by occasional reverses, has been very considerable. Contrary to official predictions, they have emerged from the "modest retirement of the caves of Biscay," have overrun extensive districts, have taken, though they have not permanently occupied, large towns, have encountered little or no resistance from the people, and have received a great accession of force.

It may be fairly observed that the country through which the chieftain Gomez marched has not generally risen in favour of the royal cause, but while we attribute to this circumstance its due weight, it must be remembered that the difficulty of supplying with arms the peasantry who, in many places, crowded to the Royalist camp, prevented the more cautious leaders from wishing to create a rural insurrection in parts of the country lying beyond the general sphere and protection of the Carlist forces. They felt, that

destitute of arms, the native population might not be enabled to support their first demonstrations without great and expensive assistance from head-quarters; that the notorious failure of their adherents in any part of the kingdom would be morally prejudicial to their cause, and that the energies of their Carlist partizans should not be prematurely exhausted in parts of the kingdom where, under actual circumstances, they could not be effectually developed: they maintained that it was rather the policy of Don Carlos to distract the attention of the Christino armies by various military expeditions, in which the Carlists might be successful, and from which they could not materially suffer; that, levying contributions on the towns through which they passed, they might remit considerable funds to the government of Onate, which might thus be enabled to extend its influence, to augment and improve the central forces*, and pave the way for their march to Madrid. How far this reasoning be correct I do not presume

* The organized Carlist force has been progressively increasing, and is, I am told, estimated at about 100,000 men, exclusive of many flying parties. The guard of honour to Don Carlos is principally composed of gentlemen who are selected from the best families of the provinces, and have assumed the lofty title of "Legitimad."

to decide, but I understand that the advisers of the late expedition have not been disappointed in the results which they anticipated, and that the booty collected has been enormous. Favoured, too, by the general good-will of the inhabitants, the Carlist armies have approached Madrid, defeated the Christino forces in their own country, and carried terror into the heart of the capital.

In casting a hasty glance over the troubled surface of the peninsula, we shall perceive that the Carlist insurrection prevails to a great extent in Aragon and Valencia, and partially in Léon, Gallicia, and the Asturias. The Royalist feeling is strong in many parts of Catalonia, but has not been fully developed on the present occasion, in consequence of the premature exhaustion occasioned by a severe check which the Catalonian Carlists experienced in 1827, and from other causes, to which I shall allude in a note at the end of the work. The whole power of the popular feeling, in the rural districts of Old Castille, inclines to Don Carlos, but their zeal is restrained by the want of arms to maintain their opinions, and by the level character of the country, which leaves them peculiarly

exposed to the armies of the capital. The fertile and extensive provinces of the south of Spain have, generally speaking, acquiesced in the Christino government, and are perhaps favourably inclined to their cause, but the character and energy of the kingdom are almost wholly to be found in the districts north of Madrid.

Not only unsubdued, but, on the contrary, stimulated into greater exertions by the augmented efforts of the Queen's government, the insurrection of the Basques and Navarrese has steadily increased. That insurrection, perhaps the most extraordinary in the annals of civil war, has been carried on under circumstances which prove that it originated in no slight grievance or passing disaffection, but in a deep sense of religious duty to their King, their country, and their God. Their insurrection was not produced by a sudden burst of outraged feeling, but gained ground as the injuries inflicted upon them were more generally felt, and the cause for which they took up arms became better understood. Their strength, slowly roused into action, is now exerted with a perseverance worthy of a people that never yet, in any period of their history, succumbed

to the oppressor. Their fidelity has been repaid, in too many instances, by the destruction of their dwellings; but their fields, laid waste by the Christinos, are to be seen waving with corn, at the return of the season, up to the highest point of the mountains on which cultivation is practicable, so that after years of desolating war, the revolted provinces possess the means of supporting a large military force as abundantly as in the early days of the struggle. The insurgents fall in considerable numbers, but their loss is scarcely felt, for the popular enthusiasm has experienced no abatement, and instantly replenishes the royal ranks.

The Basques and the Navarrese, separated from each other, it is true, by a striking diversity of tastes and habits, are yet united by an equal attachment to their privileges and to their Prince. The Biscayan, delighting in varied enterprise, fond of agricultural, but no less attached to commercial pursuits, as much at home on the ocean as on his native hills, will frequently leave his country in the morning of life to advance his fortunes in other states, and sometimes in another hemisphere; but, unlike the adventurous spirits of France and England, his ori-

ginal impressions are little weakened by a greater intercourse with the world; and the laws, the liberties, and the traditions of his country cling to him in whatever part of the globe he may be found: in short, his affections seldom take root in the scene of his active speculations, but are centered in that distant home which he only leaves to revisit after years of successful enterprise, there to spend the remainder of his life in competence and comfort.

The Navarrese, on the contrary, animated, not perhaps by a greater, but by a different kind of affection for his country, adheres with tenacity to the soil of his birth; he is usually addicted almost exclusively to agricultural pursuits, and no prospect of advantage or promotion can, generally speaking, induce him to abandon, even for a time, the home of his fathers. I have heard, even from their wild Guerrilla chieftains when in arms, the most touching expressions of affection to their altars and their hearths. The Navarrese is ready to make any sacrifices and incur any danger, if those sacrifices are to be made and that danger incurred upon his native soil, but if compelled to pass the limits of his beloved province,

his energies too often desert him, and he sometimes seems deprived of half his strength. To such an extent is this overpowering attachment to their country carried in Navarre, that when Guerge marched into Catalonia, at the head of a Navarrese force, to assist the Carlist insurgents, although his troops were quartered in a country far more abundant than their own, were well received by the inhabitants, and were moreover crowned with success in the field, he was prevailed upon by their prayers and entreaties to lead them back to Navarre; and there, under the inspiration of their native sky, they were surpassed by none in courage and devotion to the cause.

The ties of kindred are peculiarly strong in Navarre and Biscay, as indeed in every moral and virtuous state of society. Yet in Navarre the mother of a cherished family was known to replace, in the ranks of the Royal army, without a murmur or a doubt, her fallen husband by her son, and that son by his younger and last surviving brother; and when he, too, had shared the fate of his relations, she was heard, even in that hour of utter desolation, to express both pride and gratitude that her children, the last

and the only gifts she could offer to her country, had died successfully contending with the King's enemies.

This is not a solitary instance of Navarrese enthusiasm: a similar spirit pervades the province. With such a feeling arrayed against them, the present Government of Spain will find it no easy matter to achieve the conquest of the free states. Blockade cannot easily reduce that people, favoured as they are by the fertility of a soil, which yields a crop immensely exceeding the annual consumption of the country, and who are still determined to maintain the armies of their choice by every public and private sacrifice. Invasion, except on a most extensive scale, cannot exhaust the resisting population of a country where enlistment is not avoided as an unwelcome summons to fatigue and danger, but is courted as the only road to honour and independence; where the stripling burns to join his father in the ranks of war, and where, even in the maternal bosom, the love of the child is lost in the love of the cause.

Why did the French army in 1823 march from Irun to Cadiz with such rapidity, and almost unmolested? Because the system which

they entered the country to subvert was odious to the people, and, in consequence, the clergy paved the way for their reception, and the peasantry and the invaders fought side by side, and were united by a common bond. Why, in 1809, was every inch of ground contested, and every fastness made a scene of deadly resistance? Because the French of that day went into Spain to put down the principles which in 1823 they marched to support. The same causes, the same opposition to the feelings of the people, have, in a great measure, occasioned the disasters which have recently afflicted the British Legion. A cautious statesman would have scarcely sent a regular army into such a country as Spain to enforce opinions hostile to the general feeling, although prepared and able to support it with all the energies and resources of the state, but would have spurned the notion of shipping off a handful of adventurers to decide a question of succession, and in one part of the country to put down an ancient Constitution. But the opinions of practical men were unheeded, and the expedition was launched forth amid prophecies of success, which reflected little credit on the actual in-

formation and historical deductions of our Foreign Secretary.

Even if the British Legion had attained its object, the policy which dictated the expedition would not have been the less unsound. The strong conviction which prevailed in France that the Bourbon dynasty had been replaced on the throne of that country by a foreign force, produced great disaffection during the years which followed the Restoration, and more contributed to the final overthrow of that unfortunate house, than even the misjudging policy which, in their last doubtful and difficult crisis, the Sovereign was induced to pursue.

Had the Queen's authority been established by British exertions, the same inherent taint would have affected the royal tenure in Spain, and have been equally resented by a people still more jealous of foreign interference, unless indeed that interference is exercised in favour of their religious prejudices; animated, too, by haughtier feelings, and regarding British troops not only with political aversion, but as the natural enemies of their faith.

If, then, the civil war had been suppressed for the time by our immediate agency, the

Queen's Government would still have rested on a most unstable basis ; yet this precarious condition of affairs would have been the happiest result that could have been attained by the Ministerial policy. If, on the other hand, Don Carlos should become eventually possessed of the throne of Spain by one of those vicissitudes which so frequently takes place in human affairs, and which, however improbable in the opinion of our Foreign Secretary, no statesman should ever exclude from his consideration, our foreign policy will have then involved our interests in difficulties the least excusable because the most unnecessary. A large part of the Spanish population are already alienated from this country by our recent interference, and, in the contingency just supposed, a deep-rooted hostility towards Great Britain would animate not only the people but the councils of Spain.

With respect to Don Carlos our Government have not only opposed his claims as a Prince, but have acted with little temper towards him as an individual. He did not, I think, experience at their hands, when in this country, the courtesy due to his high station, and, I might add, to his great calamities ; and, after his re-

turn to Spain, he was, in the anticipated extremity of his distress, positively excluded, by the instructions of our Government, from the benefit of that general protection which is seldom refused to the basest felon.

It is hardly in human nature that a Prince so treated can forget, in the day of his power, if that day ever arrive, the insults heaped upon him in the period of his adversity. The language sometimes applied to him by Ministers and their supporters is equally undignified and impolitic. The hard terms of rebel and murderer are unsuited to a Prince who, perhaps arbitrary, and possibly mistaken in his general notions of government, has been invariably distinguished in his public conduct by honour and integrity; whose disinterested policy with respect to the Basque privileges I have already shown; whose present difficulties arise, almost entirely, from his refusal to infringe upon his brother's authority, and tamper with the army during the lifetime of that King, and who persevered in that course against the remonstrances of his less honest advisers. During the present struggle, he has frequently, from a chivalrous feeling of honour, declined the services of men

of great weight but of exceptionable character; and within the sphere of his authority, has respected the property of persons actually in arms against him, and has not permitted the confiscation of their estates. In private life, as a father, a husband, and a man strict in the performance of every promise and in the payment of every debt, he is absolutely without reproach. I am no friend to the opinions usually attributed to this Prince on general politics, but I cannot withstand the force of facts, or be insensible to the impolicy and injustice of the language applied to him.

Since the last paragraph was written an important crisis has occurred in Spain; the views which the author has ascribed to the leaders of the prevailing party have been fully though somewhat prematurely developed. The failure of our Spanish policy is complete, the fallacy of the reasoning on which it was based is amply demonstrated, and that system of government, in support of which we have lavished British treasure and sacrificed British honour, has vanished before the first blast of the revolutionary storm. I am far from treating with ridicule an

attempt to establish a balanced Government in Spain; the conception in itself is good, and the advancement of such a project by prudent and by honest means would have been worthy of a British Minister; but every step which our Cabinet has adopted in the prosecution of this object, if such, indeed, were really their aim, has been open to serious objections, and, to a great extent, calculated to defeat their own intentions.

Their Quadruple treaty has hampered the country, will probably lead to future embarrassment, and has not been productive of any useful result: the partial policy of repealing the law in favour of one belligerent party, to the disadvantage of the other, with both of whom we were ostensibly at peace, was contrary to the straightforward feelings of the British people; and the expedition against the Basques, without an attempt to mediate in behalf of their ancient rights, was at once unjust and unchristian. It is, however, most difficult to reconcile with any notion of good policy the obstinate attachment with which our Ministers continued, by acts of increasing favour, to support the democratic party in Spain, in spite of their increasing

atrocities; at a time, too, when it was evident that, by such a course, they were not promoting the interests of good government, or even of the Queen, but were feeding the fire so quickly destined to involve in a common destruction the Estatuto Real, the child of their adoption, and the more ancient institutions of Spain.

There were three parties in Spain. The Carlists, powerful from their determination, their unbending principles, and the support of the peasantry;—the Queen's friends, a body of men actuated by very discordant motives; some of whom would have adhered to any administration, from mere attachment to place and power; while others hoped to steer between the conflicting extremes of anarchy on the one hand, and despotism on the other, and were sincerely anxious to see the country governed by a moderate system; but these were few, for moderate men do not abound in any country, and least of all in Spain. Detesting either party, though ostensibly favourable to the Queen, the partisans of the Constitution of 1812 formed the third faction; a faction formidable from its energy and union, and, in the divided state of the old Royalist party, and in the peculiar cir-

cumstances of the country, almost equal in power to both.

If no question of disputed succession had arisen to create dissension among the Royalists, and if the Crown, at a period of internal tranquillity, and in a spirit of wise precaution, had conferred representative institutions upon Spain, the moderate party to which I have just alluded would have played, in all human probability, a conspicuous part on the theatre of Spanish affairs. Their superior aptitude for business, their greater discretion—their comparative freedom from pledges—the very absence perhaps of decided and uncompromising principle—might, in the peculiar state of Spain, have enabled them to steer a prudent course; to conciliate by gradual and safe reform the rational portion of the liberal public, and yet by cautious management retain within the limits of allegiance that honest and influential though rather impracticable party, which looked with suspicion and dislike on every change.

Those moderate men, the only real supporters of the *Estatuto Real*, however fitted to shine in quiet times, were sure to be overwhelmed at a period when questions of Government were to

be decided, not in the senate but in the field, nor could they exercise any influence at such a time over parties inflamed to the highest degree of resentment by mutual injuries. Few in number, with little weight in the country, appealing to the prejudices and to the passions of no party, and placed between two conflicting fires, it was evident they could only maintain the *Estatuto Real* by entering into terms with one of the great factions which really though not ostensibly divided Spain.

With the liberals, whose principal object was an extension of the popular power, an adjustment on such a basis was obviously impracticable, but a compromise of the rival claims by marriage, effected through the friendly mediation of a neutral state, might have secured to Spain the enjoyment of that modified freedom which in its present condition it is alone susceptible of receiving, might have reunited sound hearts under one banner, and have deprived the democracy of that overwhelming power which it has attained, less from its own inherent strength, than from the dissensions of the Royal party.

In the obscurity which still hangs over the Spanish part of our foreign relations, and in the

absence of information which time will disclose, an impartial writer will be slow to censure his Government for having omitted to pursue a particular course with reference to a particular point; the broad line of their policy he may indeed approve of or condemn, because the principles on which it is based, and probably its general tendencies, are open to the common judgment of mankind; but he will refrain from expressing a decided opinion upon the conduct of his Government, with reference to any specific point, without knowing all that may by possibility have passed upon the subject.

It is not, therefore, easy at present to determine whether a British statesman might have successfully urged an union of this kind upon the rival houses, and have thus accomplished the blessed object of pacifying Spain; but it is not difficult to perceive that, from the commencement of the struggle, the comparative weakness of that system of the *juste milieu* which our ministers intended to uphold in Spain, imperatively required them to adopt a steady system of conciliation, that, availing themselves of the influence which would inevitably have grown of such a course of policy, they might have

profited by any events favourable to a pacific adjustment, and have interposed whenever they saw a prospect of mediating with effect.

But they, while professing to support the *Estatuto Real*, practically took part with the extreme faction in Spain; they embittered by their language, and by their acts, the contest they could not extinguish; and, finally, precluded every chance of beneficial interposition, by sending our marines to indulge, at an inglorious distance from the field of conflict, in open but safe hostilities, against a people whom it was most unwise, on our part, to offend so irremediably.

The character of our policy is proved by the result. That extreme faction in Spain, in which our ministry so implicitly trusted, has overthrown the system they strenuously laboured to maintain. They unfortunately misunderstood the position of parties, and the real nature of their own influence in that country. They were weak in adherents, when they supposed themselves strong: they were led, whilst they fondly believed they were leading a powerful party to adopt their views,—for the greater portion of their Liberal friends acquiesced in the *Estatuto*

Real, as a necessary though disagreeable probation, to be endured till they could safely assert their power, and establish the more congenial system of 1812.

It is possible that our Government may have reposed an equally well-grounded confidence in the promises of M. Thiers, and in the stability of his administration. If this supposition be correct, his Majesty's Ministers have equally misconceived the real feelings of the Spanish Democrats, and the intentions of the French Court. M. Thiers has been dismissed by a Sovereign who, endowed with no common attainments, and bred in the school of adversity, learned, at an early period of life, to trust to his own resources, and to form his own opinions; in his actual elevation he reaps the advantages which have accrued to him from the severe discipline of his youth; and, with the decision of a matured and well-instructed mind, refuses to concur in a policy that would endanger his throne, and, probably, be fatal to the peace of Europe.

I have already observed, that while facts are so recent and information so scanty, it is difficult to speak, impartially, upon any part of our

foreign policy, which has not completely transpired; still I may be justified in observing that, although the Courts of Great Britain and France have ostensibly co-operated on Spanish affairs, it is not easy to believe that the two powers have been uniformly actuated by entirely kindred motives. While we consented to supply the Queen of Spain with arms and ammunition to an unlimited extent, France, less generous or more discreet, engaged only to prevent the transmission of supplies across the frontier to the Carlist forces; while Great Britain stipulated to support the Spanish government with a naval armament, and pledged herself to positive intervention, and all the possible hazards resulting from such a course; the French cabinet reserved to itself the right of choice, and only agreed to pursue that line of policy, with reference to Spanish affairs, which should hereafter receive the sanction of the French monarch and his allies!! Yet this was said to be a treaty imposing equal duties and reciprocal obligations on both contracting parties.

While we supported without caution, and with unnecessary fervour, M. Mendizabal's Government, although established by rebellion, and

so completely imbued with a revolutionary spirit, that it was met by an adverse majority in that Chamber of Proceres, which was wholly devoted to the Queen's cause, the French, it appears, were endeavouring, ineffectually it must be admitted, but still were endeavouring to bring back the Spanish nation to a calmer state of feeling, by the establishment of a Government influenced by less exaggerated views.

While we, if report speaks truly, have been recommending intervention to the French Court, that proposition, from whatever quarter it may have proceeded, has been steadily declined.

The feverish and unhealthy state of the public mind in France renders it incumbent on the monarch of that country to affect a sympathy with the Spanish revolutionists, while our foreign policy is completely unfettered by any domestic considerations of that nature; I do not intend to say that events in Spain do not exercise a powerful influence on the public mind of Great Britain; I only mean to observe that our recent policy towards Spain was not produced, or even influenced, by an anxiety in any

portion of the British people to become embroiled in the domestic quarrels of that nation. On the contrary, I am convinced that no part of the ministerial policy has been less generally popular. The Radicals, and all the advocates of a rigid economy, were by no means desirous that British revenue should be lavished to the extent of half a million of money on Spanish objects, while many of the Whigs were rather surprised than pleased at such an irregular and inefficient mode of interfering in the affairs of a great country. When this very material difference in the position of the two Governments, with reference to public opinion in their respective states, is taken in conjunction with the circumstances to which I have previously alluded, we shall perhaps be induced to believe that the opinions entertained upon Spanish affairs by His Majesty of France, and by the British Cabinet, are more dissimilar than we might at first be inclined to suppose.

It is not unlikely that the King of France originally became a party to the Quadruple Treaty rather from the policy of keeping up a French interest in the councils of Spain, and checking any possible preponderance of British

influence, than from any earnest desire to promote the success of the Christinos. That acute Sovereign probably foresaw the late movements in Spain,—at all events, he thoroughly understands their real tendency; he sees the Queen is but a puppet in the hands of the democratic party, and is quite aware that the nominal triumph of her cause over the Carlists would only be the victory of republican over regal institutions. Whatever course the difficulties of his position may eventually compel him to adopt, he knows that the Constitution of 1812 is incompatible, if not with the existence, at least with the safety of his throne. He has little to fear from the establishment of the most unlimited power in Spain, but no Sovereign in Europe has more to dread from the revolutionary mania which distracts that kingdom.

The fever of an excessive attachment to Church and Crown cannot be communicated, in an alarming degree, to his sensitive subjects by any conceivable process; but a throne surrounded by Republican institutions was the rallying cry of the popular party during the late Revolution in France, and it requires little external stimulus and example to bring Re-

publican institutions without the throne into still greater fashion and favour.

If, then, France is menaced by the ascendancy of the democratic party in Spain, the danger accruing to this country from the same cause, though less direct, is nearly as great, and should be equally deprecated by a British Minister.

Any popular Revolution in France subverting the present dynasty will unquestionably alter the foreign policy of that kingdom. Their Republicans express, if not in public, yet at least in private conversation, their ardent wishes to resume the limits of imperial France. "The Rhine, at least, is our natural frontier," I have heard them often exclaim; and it may be said with justice that their aversion to the present King proceeds as much from his disinclination to embark in measures of foreign encroachment, as from any supposed disposition on his part to infringe upon the liberties of his subjects. The life of Louis Philippe is at this moment the most valuable in Europe, and if the general peace be preserved, that fortunate condition of things will be attributable not to the policy pursued by our Government, but to the mingled

judgment, moderation, and firmness of his character.

The Spanish horizon is singularly clouded. The open country is given up to civil war, the cities are convulsed by a blood-thirsty faction. The Queen Regent, deprived of all substantial power, trembles before the Prætorian Guards of Spain. The high-minded Alava, a man equally honoured by all parties, and at all times, refuses to acknowledge the compulsory acts of his captive mistress. The confiscating decrees of 1820 * are already revived, property is shaken, and the rank of the country deserts the kingdom. Many of the best officers of the Spanish army have resigned their commissions, and others have been dismissed from the service, not by the crown but by the soldiery. Even if Don Carlos be ultimately successful, brought into power by the enthusiasm of his supporters, and the growing inclination of a people anxious to sub-

* I perceive that many of the acts of the Cortes have been revived by a Royal decree, and, amongst others, the abolition of entails: I must refer my readers to a Note at the end of the work, in which I have entered into some of the details of an act utterly subversive of the interests of the Aristocracy. So much for the impatience of a Government which, in its zeal to enter upon measures of spoliation, cannot await the decision of their own favourite Cortes!

stitute a tranquil system for the anarchy and bloodshed of the last few years, that Prince will still have a difficult and delicate position to maintain, although he adopt the wisest course, and establish a system of administration congenial to the spirit of the time. A vast field of laborious and necessary, rather than of splendid and easy reform, must be encountered at a period of returning tranquillity; yet, in the extreme opinions of the two most powerful parties, and complete want of harmony between the constituent parts of the social and political machine, there will be much to discourage the boldest spirit. It is, however, said, by persons acquainted with the feelings of Don Carlos, that he is alive to the expediency of conferring upon Spain institutions adapted to her real necessities.

If such an impression be accurate, and this Prince be ever enabled to carry his intentions into effect, I am inclined to think that at least one frequent source of failure in new-born Constitutions will not in his case be found to exist; I mean that deep distrust which generally prevails between the people and a Sovereign who does not hold the throne by a revolutionary

tenure; for although the general capabilities of Don Carlos are admitted in very different degrees by different parties in the country, it is almost universally conceded that he would honestly and resolutely maintain what he had once spontaneously granted.

But whatever may be the prospects of Spain, it is devoutly to be hoped, that, at length, instructed by the disastrous issue of their policy, the British Government will revert to that system of neutrality from which it should never have departed; and will leave the question of the succession to be decided by native swords. If a majority of the nation are friendly to the Christinos, they must succeed; the towns are in their possession, the Government is in their hands.

The alleged necessity of intervention in their favour is an indirect but complete admission of their inferiority to their opponents in strength, and in public opinion; and can only be maintained by the denial of that principle which our ministers maintained in opposition, but in power have abandoned,—that a free people have an exclusive right to elect their own Sovereign, and choose their own form of Go-

vernment, uncontrolled in their choice by external force. Great Britain can derive no honour or advantage from the continuance of a blind attachment to that Mendizabel faction which has again become predominant, not only by the massacre of their enemies, but by the sacrifice of the bravest and most honourable men of their own party; and by the overthrow of that authority in their own country, which they recognised as strictly legitimate, as long as it brought their adherents into place, and favoured the development of their views.

The English reader sickens over the renewed horrors of Malaga and Madrid, and asks whether a system cemented by the slaughter of the liberal Count Donadio, and proclaimed amid the savage orgies held over the mutilated Quesada, deserves the approbation of a Protestant country? Those acts were committed by M. Mendizabel's adherents, who have regained power, and repaid our previous support by carrying into effect a revolution notoriously hostile to British interests, and which, in the present disposition of parties, has practically converted Spain into a republic.

The calm observer of events sees with disgust

that at the instigation of a party so much praised by our Government and so long assisted by our resources the late ministers of Spain were unconstitutionally driven from office, and only saved by a virtuous fraud from the ferocity of the mob; that within a very short space of time six Captain-Generals, with many officers of inferior dignity, have been cruelly butchered; all men of liberal opinions, all acting under a liberal government, all equally guiltless of any offence against the state, he perceives, in short, that under an infinitely worse than Turkish tyranny, the possession of office, in other countries the post of honour, has become in Spain, at least to honourable and independent men, the prelude to assassination; and feels that such a melancholy condition of affairs has been produced, in a great degree, by an interference on our part, false in principle and ineffective in its operation.

The Quadruple Treaty, made under other circumstances, and for other objects, may, I think, be looked upon as virtually extinguished by the thralldom of the Queen and the proclamation of the new Constitution against her will. But if, without cavilling about the Quadruple

Treaty, his Majesty's Ministers would adopt a broader and nobler policy, and endeavour, even in this eleventh hour of the struggle, to reconcile by marriage the two conflicting parties, if, indeed, our mediation has not been rendered absolutely impracticable by our measures, they might in some degree atone for past mismanagement; such a compromise is consonant with justice, would be approved of by every moderate man, and I am inclined to think, the best, perhaps the only mode of giving lasting peace to Spain,—for whether Carlos or Christina eventually prevail, the defeated party will still remain in sufficient strength to endanger the existing government, if no plan of mutual accommodation be resolved on.

But at all events the time has arrived when every dispassionate man must, I think, be convinced that British subjects should cease to participate in a contest sullied by such atrocities; and that Great Britain should renounce her homage to that blood-stained giant of democracy, whose growth we have inconsiderately fostered in Spain, whose tremendous development we are witnessing, and whose still increasing ascendancy may, in its indirect results, be

most injurious to our interests. But, more than all, it is time to close a page of British history, which, at once recording the injustice of our conduct, and the reverses of our arms, may gratify the lover of poetical retribution, but is fraught with humiliation to every Englishman, who remembers with pride the fields we won, and the cause for which we fought, in the same country that has recently witnessed the progressive decline if not extinction of our influence, and the tarnished lustre of our name.

S K E T C H
OF THE CONSTITUTION OF 1820,
JUST RESTORED IN SPAIN.

THE principal portion of my review of the Basque Provinces was written, and indeed printed, before the astounding intelligence of the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1812 had reached this country. My readers are undoubtedly aware that this Constitution was first established in Spain during that year, and was afterwards suppressed by Ferdinand, apparently with the general concurrence of the nation; it was restored by a military revolution in 1820, and, after a troubled existence of three years, fell under the victorious arms of France and of the Faith. When first the revolution of 1820 attracted the attention of Europe, being a very young man, and stimulated by the events of the day, I went into Spain, remained for some time in that kingdom, and observed, with great interest, the workings of this peculiar Constitution. Although I entered that country, inclined to participate, at least to

some extent, in the enthusiasm then felt in England for what was termed erroneously the cause of a regenerated nation, I left the country profoundly disgusted with the injustice that had characterized the brief career of the Spanish reformers, and had justly led to their fall. After the entrance of the French armies in 1823, under the Duc d'Angoulême, and the subsequent extinction of the Constitution, I published a short account of the composition and character of the legislative body, as it existed during my residence in the country, and I touched upon some of the most important acts passed by the Cortes, and endeavoured to show their effects in alienating from that assembly almost every leading interest in the kingdom. As the same political system has just been re-established, as the same electoral law is again in force, and likely to return a similar class of deputies: as, consequently, a revival of the measures then enacted may, to a great extent, be anticipated, for the Spanish liberal reaps no instruction from the harvest of misfortune, I have thought it not improbable that persons interested in the affairs of Spain may be disposed to retrace the policy of a former Cortes, and observe the workings of the present Constitution at a former period. I have, therefore, determined to reprint the observations which I published at that time.

Nearly twelve years have rolled away since the publication of my remarks on that Constitution, and still more have elapsed since I formed, from actual observation, the opinions embodied in that sketch: perhaps few men retain their political notions absolutely unchanged during so many years at any period of life, and fewer still would willingly be pledged to every sentiment expressed in very early manhood; personal experience is apt to modify the impressions of youth; and in these days of rapid and perpetual experiment, the general knowledge of the world receives some addition to its store, even during the limited period of twelve or fourteen years. But in reverting to this record of transactions now some time elapsed, I find that my opinions have undergone no material change. My strongest attachments in Spain were certainly formed with persons of that party which, in the last revolution as in that of 1820, have suffered under the iron yoke of a liberal government; but the British friends with whom I held most frequent communication at that time, entertained opinions, somewhat differing from mine, on Spanish politics. It is possible that deference to some of these individuals, and also the strong feeling that the Constitutionalists were, at the moment when I wrote, a humbled, & fallen, and almost a persecuted party, may have led me to condemn their errors in terms of

calmer reprehension than I could bring myself to make use of at the present moment, when they are again pursuing, not indeed in uninterrupted success, but in undiminished activity, their career of oppression. But the reader will perceive that if there be a greater moderation of language in my old sketch of the Spanish Cortes, than in my present review of the Basque Provinces, there is no real difference of principle or opinion.

The rare but occasional substitution of one word for another, is the whole extent of difference between the original and the present edition; the amount of change might easily be comprised in one short sentence; and these slight variations have been only intended to correct some obviously inaccurate expression, or to qualify some fact or opinion perhaps too broadly stated.

There is, however, a point to which I must call the attention of my readers. I have stated in the following sketch that the establishment of a House of Peers, at the commencement of the revolution of 1820, would have obviated much of that inconsiderate legislation which then afflicted the country, and have thus materially tempered the march of the revolution. It may now, perhaps, be said that the experiment has been tried, and that failure has been the result. Without entering into the peculiar composition of the late Chamber of Peers, it may be fairly observed,

that many circumstances of a most unfavourable nature contributed to neutralize its legitimate influence from the hour of its establishment to the moment of its fall. The beneficial action of an Upper House was necessarily restricted to the narrowest limits under a government that carried measures of great national importance into effect without the intervention of the Chambers. For instance, the abolition of the convents, and the confiscation of their estates, a policy the most questionable in its character, and likely to prove the most serious in its results, was adopted by M. Mendizabel, with a complete independence of the legislative authority, and was only justified by that Minister on the ground of some general vote of confidence passed in his favour by the Chamber of Procuradores.

The Proceres were originally called into existence as a separate estate, for the purpose of correcting, by their greater steadiness and sagacity, the hasty resolutions which might be expected to emanate from the Procuradores, an assembly liable to be unduly influenced by particular feelings, and to be sometimes hurried into acts of great indiscretion by the mistaken enthusiasm of the moment; but this strange and unconstitutional mode of superseding the authority, or, as it was politely termed, of anticipating the wishes of the legislature, rendered the Chamber of Procuradores

contemptible in the eyes of the country, and absolutely destroyed the only object for which an Upper House could be desirable.

Under such circumstances the failure of the Proceres in acquiring the confidence of any influential party cannot excite surprise. But even if it had not been rendered almost useless by the system which I have just described, and consequently of little interest to the country, other causes were working to produce its fall. Although many of the Royalists would have at first disliked the institution of an Upper House, under any circumstances whatever, from a general indisposition to every part of the constitutional system, still if a house of Peers had been established by an undisputed Sovereign, a majority of the Royalists would have eventually supported, not only from principle but from a strong sense of expediency, the Royalist demonstrations of an Upper Chamber, either against the Deputies, or against any democratic pressure from without the walls of the legislature. But in the present case a regular drain was established, *ab initio*, which diverted into other channels all that strength and energy which ought to have nourished and could alone support the aristocratic institution of an Upper House against the systematic distaste of the liberals to any establishment of that nature; for nearly all who had been enterprising in the Roy-

and ranks, all who were most attached to the Crown abstractedly, all who were peculiarly distinguished by high religious zeal, a fertile source of great acts in Spain, had^e openly or secretly seceded to Don Carlos. This party, the largest portion of which now constitutes the strength of that Prince, and which, under other circumstances, would have probably supported an Upper Chamber, or at least a House of Peers, in the heated feelings engendered by a struggle for the succession, regarded the Proceres not in their natural point of view as a rampart interposed between them and a republic, but as a class avowedly hostile to the lawful heir. And thus, that Chamber, not only deprived of all external support, but positively disliked, for very different reasons, by both the leading factions, and at the same time destitute of all prescriptive claim to the affection and veneration of the Spaniards, was swept away without a symptom of national hesitation or regret.

This particular impediment to the consolidation of an Upper House, arising rather from the actual state of parties than from causes of a more permanent and irremediable character, did not exist in 1820, and could not have prejudiced the system of the Estatuto Real, if a compromise had been effected between the rival claimants to the crown; but as long as the great body of the

Royalists profess an open or retain a secret allegiance to any individual not the *de facto* occupier of the throne, and are thus induced to withhold their support from the existing institutions, an Upper Chamber, shorn of its natural allies, will be left in its inherent weakness to acquiesce in the will of the Deputies, or to struggle ineffectually, and probably for a short time only, against the popular tide. "No balanced Constitution, under such circumstances, is likely to take deep root in Spain.

It is true the unconstitutional stretches of ministerial authority to which I have referred, were not displeasing to the liberals, because, however incompatible in practice and in principle with the establishment of any real system of liberty, they were almost invariably exerted to promote, in the most rapid manner, the progress of revolutionary change. Besides, according to the system latterly in vogue, the liberals were enabled to operate upon their government by a more effectual and summary process than through the medium of their representatives. Although M. Mendizabel, in many instances, treated the established powers of the state with little respect, he was compelled to recognize the juntas which had purpoed functions not conceded to them by law, which had displaced the magistrates appointed by the Crown, had taxed their fellow-

subjects for the support of their illegal power, and had even prescribed measures to their Sovereign in a spirit of utter disregard to the fundamental principles of the charter. In the first days of September, 1835, and the last of the Queen's authority; the Crown declared those self-constituted juntas illegal, and in a state of rebellion; but a fortnight afterwards, when M. Mendizabel accepted office, the Regent was induced, probably obliged, to recall the obnoxious expressions, rescind the decree, and acknowledge their dictation.

The history of the late Constitution presents a curious and, apparently, an inconsistent mass of facts. The Estatuto Real, as far as it extended, may be considered a charter of moderate principles; the practice of the government during its existence was often despotic in principle, yet the utmost excess of popular domination was the galling slavery under which men actually lived, and the Jacobinism of Spain controlled and completely guided the machine. The whole political action of the country was irregular and unhealthy; measures of the highest consequence were sometimes passed, not because the acts in question were insisted upon by the Procuradores, or had received the grave and deliberate sanction of the Cortes, but without their intervention, and because an aspiring apothecary, in one place,

and a discontented militiaman, in another, had formed a junta, and resolved upon the adoption of some great measure, or the recognition of some great principle, as essential to the liberties of Spain. In conformity with this species of dictation, and moved by the same springs, one party was ejected from the government, and another set of men brought into power, without reference to the Queen's wishes or their own capabilities for office, but solely because they had attained a transient popularity by the advocacy of opinions still more exaggerated than those maintained by their predecessors.

In the following sketch I may seem, in one or two instances, to have dwelt too much on subjects to which I have previously adverted, and thus appear to have involved myself in unnecessary repetitions; I can only plead in excuse that the greater portion of my review on the Basque states was printed before the occurrence of the late revolution in Spain had suggested to my mind the propriety of republishing my sketch of the Constitution just restored; and, for obvious reasons, I was unwilling to make any material change or omission in this part of my work.

As this sketch was written some years ago, I must beg my readers to remember that the Constitution so frequently alluded to in the following pages was re-established in Spain in the early

days of 1820, and existed till the autumn of 1823; it was then suppressed by the French forces, which invaded Spain, and co-operated with the Spanish armies of the Faith.

SKETCH OF THE CONSTITUTION OF 1820.

THE failure of the Revolution of 1820 has impressed many persons with a belief that society is too abject in Spain, and the national character too degraded to permit the successful establishment of liberal institutions: this opinion, founded on recent events, and most unfavourable to the advancement of freedom and civilization, as it excludes the possibility of future improvement, or defers it to a very distant period, can only be removed by a knowledge of the circumstances of the country, the prejudices of the people, and the policy pursued by the Cortes with reference to national feeling. The hostility manifested by a large party towards the new institutions, and the failure of every attempt to excite public enthusiasm in their favour, arose more from the disgust occasioned by particular measures, than from any inherent want of patriotism in the Spanish people. The principles of election under which the Cortes were convened,

brought together an assembly, in which the opinions of a numerous class of the great towns predominated, but in which the landed proprietors, the clergy, a party in the cities, and an immense numerical majority in the provinces, were rather nominally than practically represented. This discrepancy between a representation founded on principles of democracy and a state of property held under tenures of the most aristocratic character, produced a fatal conflict of interests. Had a second chamber existed, it would have checked that headlong attack on old interests, which, to persons acquainted with the Spanish nation, will satisfactorily explain the failure of the revolution; but, on the other hand, it would have concurred with the Cortes in modifying the overgrown establishments that were supposed to depress the agriculture of the kingdom, and perhaps in reducing those territorial accumulations which had become too extensive for single superintendence, and rendered an opulent class of subjects discontented and dangerous, by preventing them from vesting their capital in land and acquiring a substantial interest in the welfare of the state. That a spirit of this kind prevailed among the aristocracy is shown by the petitions which they presented to the Cortes, praying for the repeal of the laws touching entails: the entire repeal of those acts must have eventually proved fatal to the

influence of the nobility, but in many instances private and personal feelings foolishly prevailed over their interests as a body; the power of making larger settlements for younger children, the unlimited disposal of their properties during life, and, with a few, the desire of exonerating their remaining estates from heavy charges, induced many individuals to advocate the repeal of those laws, whose interests, as forming part of a privileged class, were most opposed to the measure in its unqualified state. Had a second chamber existed, the necessary modifications would have been made in the laws that regulated the disposition of property, but political feeling would have operated more forcibly among the nobles, nor would those alterations have been carried to an extent incompatible with the permanent existence of an influential aristocracy. The establishment of a second chamber at the commencement of the revolution might have conferred the greatest blessings upon Spain; such an assembly would have mediated between the spirit of reform that existed in the popular branch of the legislature, and the great interests affected by its resolutions; that spirit of reformation would have led to beneficial results, had it been controlled by the operation of another power, and rendered, in some degree, subservient to particular circumstances and national feeling. Many principles

were established by the Cortes, just in the abstract, but most unjust when indiscriminately applied to the correction of abuses which had grown out of ages of political misconception, and had become interwoven with the interests of large classes of the community. A second chamber, while it felt the necessity of concurring in those changes which the increasing knowledge and altered circumstances of the country required, would have looked with a jealous eye upon acts that unsettled property, and would not have sanctioned the principle of confiscation without indemnity.

With respect to the difficulties of establishing an Upper House, it is often urged that it must naturally be composed of a selection from the higher orders, who are said to be incapable in this country of taking any part in the legislation, from their previous habits and general want of information. In the second place, that it would become the passive instrument of the Court, impede the march of necessary reform, and possibly conspire against the infant liberties of the state. If, as Mr. Quin justly observes, in his able work upon Spain, the Cortes were bound by the words of the law, which themselves had enacted, to present to the King three lists, nominating twelve grandees, twelve ecclesiastics, and ninety-six individuals, "men of known virtue, intelligence,

and information," who were generally selected from the higher classes, how can it be maintained that the elements requisite for the formation of an Upper House do not exist in Spain? With respect to the second objection, it may be satisfactorily answered by referring to the debates that took place in the Cortes at a time when they were certainly not disposed to give any undue popularity to an order of men whose influence and wealth they had begun to undermine: in those debates it was distinctly stated, by the President and the principal Deputies, that no agitators existed among the nobility who were publicly praised for the zeal and patriotism with which they had supported the new institutions*. If such was the feeling shown by the leaders of the aristocracy towards a Constitution which threatened their possessions, deprived them of political importance, annihilated their privileges as a body, and virtually excluded them from sharing in the legislature†; is it too theoretical to infer, that they would have preserved the same independent spirit under a system that protected their possessions, and secured to them a just ascendancy in the state? There was no evil more

* Debates on the Senatorial Rights, June, 1821.

† Persons belonging to the King's household could not sit in the Cortes,—a regulation that virtually excluded the leading nobles, who were generally attached to the palace.

galling to the individuals upon whom it pressed than the perpetual tutelage in which men of high rank were held by the Spanish Court; and there existed no class that would have beheld the establishment of rational liberty with more satisfaction than a large portion of the Spanish nobility. I am far from thinking that many persons would not have regretted a change from servitude to a state of freedom: under the wisest provisions some interests would be unavoidably compromised, many prejudices would interfere, and there exists, at all times, a tendency in human nature to regret past institutions, however defective they may have been; but such a party would have scarcely existed in the Cortes, nor would it have been numerous or efficient in the Chamber of Peers. In the course of a few years juster principles of government would have prevailed, the rising generation would have been trained to public affairs, and education and liberal habits would have improved the character of the nobility; while the names of the great leading families, with the proud historical recollections attached to them, would have lent weight and dignity to the measures of Government.

The Spanish Constitution attempted to combine the form of monarchy with institutions essentially republican;—an anomalous mixture by no means easy to maintain. The Crown, without

the power of nominating its advisers, was scarcely able to exercise the few prerogatives it retained; the suspensive veto did not diminish the embarrassments resulting from this situation, as it only served to exasperate, by an appearance of delay, without operating as an effective restraint; nor would the interposition of the Crown, with the most unqualified privilege, have supplied the want of a second chamber, which seems the only effectual barrier between the conflicting opinions of the King and the people. An absolute veto is rather a nominal than real prerogative of the British Crown, as the mediation of a third power happily averts such collisions; and most unfortunate indeed is any constitution of government that compels the King, from the want of efficient institutions, to recur frequently to a positive, or even a modified exercise of this power; the Crown should be known to its subjects by concessions and acts of grace, and no policy can be more injurious than to place it in manifest opposition to the declared will of the national representatives. From such, and other causes, which would occupy too much space to enumerate at present, the general harmony which should result from the provident distribution of constitutional powers did not exist, and the only recognised authorities were placed in a state of mutual hostility, which generated personal hatred and political inin-

verity. The Crown saw itself stripped of every valuable prerogative, and exerted itself in secret to obtain an unconstitutional influence, with the design of overturning the existing system; while the legislature, for the purpose of counteracting* those designs, was induced to interfere with the exercise of prerogatives that were solely vested in the executive, and could not be appropriated by any other power in the state, without a manifest infraction of the Constitution*.

The weakness that had characterized the measures of Government during the six years that preceded the revolution, and the energy communicated by a sudden transition from servitude to freedom, had given the legislature a decided ascendancy over the Crown; but had the Crown, thus limited, been enabled to maintain itself against the democracy of such an assembly, it might ultimately have acquired as

* A striking instance of an undue but indirect assumption of power by the Cortes occurred in the last year of the Constitutional Government. The King dismissed the existing ministry on the 19th of February, 1823: in consequence of the popular tumult that ensued they were restored to office on the same night, but again retired on the 1st of March. It was provided by the 82nd article of the Constitution, that Ministers should read an account of the actual state of public affairs, each communicating the details that belonged to his particular department. The Cortes, who distrusted the intentions of the Court, were opposed to the dismissal of that administration; in consequence, they postponed the reading of these memorials, and by such a step indirectly compelled the King to retain Ministers with whom he was at variance.

great facilities of attributing to itself powers not conceded by law. This state of things resulted partly from the absence of an intermediate body ; and, in a great degree, from the constitution of the Cortes. Though many of the individuals who composed that assembly were taken from the most enlightened class in Spain, they were, generally speaking, men of little or no property ; the greatest number subsisted entirely on their salaries as deputies : whenever the enthusiasm excited by the establishment of free institutions had in some degree subsided, it cannot be doubted that a body of men, whose private comforts depended on their public appointments, would have been peculiarly exposed to the temptations which would have assailed them in every shape from the Court. Those temptations would have had more weight from the existence of a clause that precluded the actual deputies from being re-elected to the ensuing parliament, and consequently deprived them of their salaries after a given period, —an enactment prejudicial to good legislation in any country, as it compels men who have attained a practical knowledge of public affairs to resign the reins of government into the hands of less experienced persons ; but most injurious in Spain, where little political wisdom exists, and that little is confined to few individuals. The dangers arising from the ascendancy of the popular party

at one moment, and from the encroachments of the Crown at another, and fluctuating according to the temper and circumstances of the time, could only be obviated by the establishment of a chamber of nobility, whose hereditary wealth might prove some guarantee against the facility of corruption, or at least of an assembly to which a greater character of permanency was given, and in which property was the basis of election *.

Although the events that occurred early in the revolution, by disuniting the interests of the different orders of the state, and carrying conflicting opinions to an extreme point, destroyed that union from which alone a modified government can arise, I still believe that the elements of a mixed monarchy exist to a considerable extent in Spain. There may be found a richly

* Unquestionably the Crown might obtain an influence hostile to the general liberties of the country over a Chamber so constituted, and at a time favourable to royal encroachments; but at present (1836), when the democratic fever is at its height in Spain, and the patriot of last year is sacrificed as an unworthy apostle by the patriot of to-day, the conduct of the Deputies will, I think, be too severely scrutinized by their excited constituents to render any corrupt, perhaps even any honest, understanding with the Court either safe or practicable. In that case, having no independent property, and unwilling to revert to their former condition of life, yet unable to promote their fortunes by attaching themselves to the Crown, it is much to be feared that many of them will endeavour to rise upon its ruins and obtain public favour, and perhaps permanent situation, by advocating extreme opinions, and still greater and more alarming changes in the constitution of their country.

endowed clergy, an opulent nobility, and a tolerably enlightened commons; under such a system the nobility might lose some invidious privileges, and a modification of the law of entail would reduce their overgrown territorial possessions; but, in return, they would obtain their due share of political importance, and by taking a part in the legislation of their country, would acquire that respect and influence which they do not at present enjoy. The power of the clergy, if excessive, would decline with the facilities afforded to every species of improvement, and under the operation of an unfettered press.

The church establishment might be modified, and such a measure would not create serious disaffection, if a fair compensation were given to individuals for the surrender of their existing rights.

I believe I do not mistake when I say, that, at the dawn of the revolution in 1820, the leading nobles, the enlightened members of the clergy, and the middling classes of the great towns, were, for the most part, favourably disposed towards the new order of things. The enthusiasm which in 1814 enabled the king to overthrow the Cortes and re-establish himself on the throne of his ancestors, without granting any concessions to popular feeling, had been effectually damped by the incapacity of each successive administration.

How then, it may well be asked, could an attempt to establish a government upon free principles fail of success, when the rank, the influence, and the talent of the country were disposed in its favour? It failed, because the personal views and passions of the Cortes unfitted them for the delicate task of reforming abuses which had become too powerful to be at once overthrown, but which might have been gradually removed; because, in the pursuit of abstract truths, they infringed upon existing rights; because they separated themselves from the feelings of the country, and by acts of inconsiderate legislation, offended the most confirmed prejudices of the people. The Constitution existed without popular prepossession, and fell without a struggle, because they took no effective measures to render the interests of any class of the community dependent on the success or failure of the revolution, while they converted into implacable enemies a powerful party whom careful management would have warmly disposed in their favour; and lastly, they paralyzed the exertions of their most decided supporters, by adopting a policy inconsistent with their interests.

The nobles, as a body, were extremely wealthy; a large portion of the land of Spain was in their possession; whole districts belonged to a few noble individuals, and descended in strict

perpetuity of entail. The favourite practice of creating *mayorazgos* or perpetual entails, become common not only among the nobility but among all classes of landed proprietors, was supposed to be one cause of the extreme depression under which the agricultural interest laboured: these overgrown estates, seldom or never seen by their possessors, were committed to the charge of careless agents; little attention was devoted to the improvement of the soil that in a few years, under better management, would have repaid them ten-fold, but remittances hastily collected were sent to the capital to maintain an useless system of little real magnificence but immense profusion. Among a large class of the nobility the greater portion of their incomes arose from the possession of feudal or seignorial rights, that varied according to different tenures. In some villages the people were obliged to compound with the Señor for the permission to erect a mill to grind their corn; a similar tax was levied on the olive mill; and the local sale of merchandize was not unfrequently submitted to an imposition more or less heavy. The Crown, when it ennobled an individual, sometimes granted to him and his descendants the power of levying specific duties on a particular town or village for the purpose of creating funds to maintain his rank. It may easily be conceived that rights of this nature weighed heavily on the

industry of the country; their existence was a grievance, their abolition without indemnity was an act of extreme injustice. The Cortes decreed that such rights should be considered null and void, except in cases where the claimant was enabled to bring indisputable proof that they were of the highest antiquity, were granted without collusion, and given on good consideration; as it was scarcely possible to produce sufficient proofs, especially when submitted for judgment, not to the common tribunals, but to the Cortes, the seignorial rights were virtually abolished. In consequence of this act, the fortunes of the more opulent nobles suffered considerably, while the less wealthy class of proprietors were reduced to absolute poverty. The law was also carried to an extreme length, and rights of a very different and less offensive character, such as exclusive fisheries, and other monopolies of that nature, were included in the sweeping proscription. The Marquis de Los Velez was said to have lost an annual income of 500,000 francs by the loss of his rights of fishery at Motril. Rights of judicature possessed by the proprietors of the soil, such as the appointment of local judges, arbitrators, &c., were of course annulled at the same time.

Soon afterwards the Cortes imposed upon the country a general land tax, that pressed most heavily on the nobles as the principal land-

holders. This tax was raised by Government commissioners, who rated the estates at their nominal value, without making any deduction for the debts, family charges, &c., with which they were encumbered: this imposition was severely felt by the nobility, who were already impoverished by the loss of their seignorial rights, and by the extraordinary contributions they were at times required to make. I have heard of a noble who was at this period in the annual receipt of 1200*l.* sterling money: the family charges on his estate amounted annually to more than half that sum; yet with this diminished income he was assessed by the commission according to his rent-roll, and, scarcely possessing a clear 500*l.*, was compelled to pay the tax in the proportion of 1200*l.* per annum.

These acts were followed by another that confirmed the discontent of the nobles. Many of the nobility held their estates in virtue of grants from the Crown, some of which dated from very remote periods. In those days, when a powerful aristocracy controlled the King, some of the Barons had extended their jurisdiction and properties beyond the limits assigned to them by the royal grants. The weakness of the regal prerogative, the power of the feudal lords, the absence of an intermediate class sufficiently powerful to oppose a barrier to their encroach-

ments, and the turbulence of the times, protected them in these manifest usurpations. Time sanctioned what were originally acts of spoliation, and gave the force of prescriptive right. To call into question estates so long enjoyed, on the ground that their tenures were imperfect, had a tendency to shake the security of all property; but had the Cortes restricted the operation of the act which they passed, to estates which could be proved to have been extended beyond the limits originally assigned to them, a resumption so modified would have been plausible in theory, though it would have been harsh in practice; but they shifted the *onus probandi* from themselves, required the grantees of the Crown to show the charters upon which their rights of possession were founded, and decreed that those estates should be confiscated whose titles could not be produced, or were pronounced invalid. This resolution was taken, although it was generally known that many, I believe most, of the documents were lost from which the title to properties was derived, the legality of whose tenures had never been doubted. That such charters should have disappeared cannot excite our surprise, when we consider the number of years that had elapsed since they were bestowed, the numerous conflagrations, and the foreign and domestic wars with which Spain has been afflicted.

The Council of Castille was justly alarmed, and remonstrated warmly against a measure that confiscated the revenues and annihilated the influence of the nobility. Unable to resist the torrent, they suggested as an amendment, that only those grantees should be required to produce their title-deeds, whose domains had grown into importance during the particular period when such usurpations were common. The Cortes were, however, determined to preserve the original project entire, and in defiance of the remonstrances of the Council and the opposition of the King, who three times refused his sanction to this act of plunder, it passed into a law; a harsh and ungenerous return for the zeal with which the nobles had embraced the cause of their countrymen. I believe this measure was never carried into complete effect, as the counter-revolution intervened, and saved the aristocracy from total ruin.

But if the policy pursued towards the nobles prevented the consolidation of the system, that which was directed against the clergy threatened its actual existence. The importance of conciliating this body of men was more urgent, and the advantages more direct. The cordial union of the nobility with the Constitutionalists, would have given a weight to Government in their external relations, which could not be attained

while the leading families of rank and property were notoriously disaffected; still, in Spain, their influence was, in a great measure, limited to the fashionable circles of Madrid; the management of their estates devolved on their ^{own} agents; they were known only by name to their peasantry, and possessed little or no territorial influence. That influence had passed almost exclusively into the hands of the clergy; idolized as the ministers of God, scattered over a country where properties are in few hands, and the proprietors for the most part absent, they performed many of the duties, and acquired all the weight, of a resident gentry. They obtained not only the spiritual direction of the people, but the management of their temporal concerns; they became the confidants of their family secrets, and the arbitrators of their domestic differences: the peasantry, forming a large and by no means an ineffective majority, as among this class must be included all the warlike Guerillas in possession of the mountain passes, looked to the priesthood for consolation in their adversities and resolution in their doubts; from them they received their opinions on passing events; by them they were stimulated to good or evil: in a word, in their hands was lodged the direction of the whole physical force of the country. In a state where society is so constituted, it is evident that their

approval or hostility must materially influence the success or failure of any system that may be introduced. Their co-operation, or at least acquiescence, in the new order of things would have been obtained, had the substantial principles of justice been observed, had more delicacy been shown towards the rights of existing individuals, and had the legislature avoided that unwise precipitation in carrying into effect, in the space of a few months, those limitations of the church establishment, which could hardly have been adopted with safety in the course of many years.

The regulation that rendered the receipt of a fixed income, arising from private property, indispensable to the office of parish priest, excluded candidates for the secular clergy from the lower ranks of society, and preserved it in the hands of the better classes. The members of religious houses, on the contrary, for whose ordination the consent of the bishop and a certain routine of education were alone necessary, except in a few celebrated monasteries, were seldom men of high, frequently of low origin. Ordination was, however, a sovereign remedy for any inherent defect of this nature; and the monk frequently received the highest honours at the Captain general's table, while his father was scarcely tolerated in the kitchen—a striking instance of the

extent to which religious prejudice had taken root among a people proverbially tenacious of ancient descent. There existed in Spain two species of monastic establishments, of a very different nature, which experienced a very different fate at the revolution. First, and by far the most important class, was that which was supported by revenues arising from land, their own property, and held in mortmain. The second, and least influential, was that of the Mendicant Monks, who possessed no regular funds, but subsisted entirely on the daily charity of the pious. The first was generally suppressed at the revolution; some, it is true, were suffered to exist, but shorn of all their splendour, the land attached to them being universally confiscated for national purposes. In the discussion that arose in the Cortes on the 23rd of July, 1820, on the propriety of confiscating the property of the convents, it was urged, that the large tracts of land which they had acquired at different periods, and had kept out of cultivation, had materially contributed to the decline of the agricultural prosperity of the kingdom, and that the nation, represented in Cortes, had a right to appropriate them. That such a power resides in the legislature, if it effectively represent the different interests of the country, may or may not be true; but, in the present case, I am much inclined to doubt the

truth of the first part of their allegation. It is possible that, upon general principles, great territorial accumulations in the hands of corporations, lay or religious, may be prejudicial to the country in which land is so vested ; but from the tenures under which estates were held in Spain. from the system of agency, and from the habits which have grown out of that disposition of property, I do not believe that the absorption of land by the convents has been generally injurious. In many instances, perpetuity of entail would have restricted land, that before the revolution was attached to religious establishments, had it always remained in the possession of individuals. In such cases, it would have been equally excluded from the market ; and every man who has passed through Spain must have observed the difference that exists between the practical administration of estates held by religious corporations or by individuals under the system of perpetual entail. The traveller cannot fail to observe that the roads are kept in better order on the estates of the clergy, the bridges repaired with more care, and greater attention paid to the improvement of their properties than to other parts of the country : he will perceive that many of the monasteries are situated in the neighbourhood of badly managed, and frequently uncultivated estates ; from which it may justly be in-

ferred, that in the absence of such establishments, the land now attached to them would have shared the fate of the surrounding properties, have been equally ill-managed, or remained altogether without cultivation.

Notwithstanding the little actual evil that had resulted from the immense appropriation of land by the convents, it is possible that these properties covering large tracts, and held in mortmain, if not in some degree reduced in extent, might ultimately be prejudicial to the improvement of agriculture, whenever the system of entail should be modified, a fresh impulse given to capital, a better system of husbandry introduced, and good communications established. The Cortes had already rescinded entails; they had, in many respects, altered the laws affecting property, and, perhaps, a revision of the ecclesiastical estates had become advisable; but when we reflect on the delicacy of interfering with rights that have been for ages considered sacred, when we remember the jealous feeling with which such rights have been always regarded in Spain, we cannot but feel deeply that no interests upon which the Cortes were called to legislate, required such calm and dispassionate consideration, and unfortunately there were none upon which so much passion and party prevailed. When the estates of the monasteries were con-

fiscated, a stipend was assigned to the monks, inadequate, when compared to their former revenues, and most irregularly paid. This measure was unjust and impolitic: unjust, because ample compensation was not made to individuals for the loss of those vested rights, which public opinion held sacred, and which were guaranteed to them by the existing law, when they became members of such communities; and, as such, partakers of all their benefits and privileges. Their best years had been spent in that routine of education, and those habits, which were essential to their vocation, but which totally disqualified them from resorting to occupations of a more active nature. They had suffered directly and indirectly by the change of system. Their expectations of preferment were blighted, their respectability was lowered, their influence was lessened, and must have continued to decrease: surely they were entitled to a full compensation in a pecuniary point of view.

The measure was impolitic—because it could not fail to exasperate a class, whose opposition was highly formidable, from the facility with which they could identify the cause of God with the interests of the church. The Cortes were aware that they were regarded with a jealous eye by the despotic Governments; they should have seen the importance of betraying no weak point

round which their enemies might intrigue and rally the disaffected of all classes; they should have felt the necessity of avoiding any pretext for foreign interference, by the semblance of unanimity, and by clothing all their proceedings in the garb of the strictest justice.

Had these communities been required to contribute each in proportion to its ability, and the admission of novices into those institutions which were eventually to be suppressed, been forbidden by law, the number of members would have been very limited in the course of a few years, and the remaining individuals might then have been provided for by competent salaries, and the estates of the establishment sold for the benefit of the nation*. I have heard it urged, that while such

* I am not intending to recommend such a measure, but as I know that many persons are of opinion that the suppression of religious houses in Spain is essential to the progress of improvement in that country, I am only pointing out a path which the Cortes might have followed, without abandoning their own views on the one hand, or incur on the other the just imputation of having acted with the greatest injustice towards the life-tenants of those establishments. I retain the opinion which I expressed some years ago, that those ecclesiastic corporations might be preserved, at least to a considerable extent, not only without injury, but with the greatest benefit to the state, if certain changes were introduced in their constitution, and some new duties and new conditions annexed to the occupation of the conventual estates. The monks, who even now are often extremely valuable to the community, from their practical knowledge of agriculture, from their readiness in communicating that information, and from their liberality in accommodating the less wealthy cultivators of the soil, might, under an improved system, become equally serviceable

communities were suffered to exist, the intriguing spirit of the monks would have continually laboured to alienate the people from the Constitutional system. Some local disorders might have occurred, but a little reflection will show the improbability that serious disturbances should have grown out of this policy ; persons who have observed the progress of the Revolution will remember that a long period had elapsed after the enactment of those laws which ruined their fortunes, destroyed their influence, and humbled their pride, before the opposition of the clergy assumed an alarming character : in Spain, al-

in diffusing over the country, and actively maintaining a system of popular education, combining useful knowledge with that wholesome spirit of religion, deprived of which the success or failure of any institutions for the instruction of youth is of little consequence. The abolition of some of the old convents, monuments of national pride and grandeur, reflects as much discredit on the taste of the Spanish liberals as their persecution of the monks proves them to be destitute of generous feeling and sound political instruction. Besides the deep affection with which the convents were regarded in many of the rural districts, might, I think, have exercised some influence on a party which professes to be guided by public feeling ; might have induced them to mitigate their hostility against those much-cherished establishments, and have led them to feel that speculative advantages may be purchased at too high a cost, if acquired by the sacrifice of a people's love. But the Spanish democrat is rather more liberal on paper than in practice : while the world generally, since the French Revolution, has become not merely older but wiser, the Spanish liberals are still, with respect to their convents, with respect to their notions of dividing the country into departmental divisions—in short, with reference to every internal arrangement the theorists. the hopeless theorists of 1789.

though the nature of the country offers great facilities for a harassing species of war, the extent of surface and the absence of communications render the spontaneous movements necessary to successful insurrection difficult to be produced, and seldom effective when they take place. Of these dangers and difficulties the priesthood were aware; they knew that however the cause might ultimately succeed, the first insurgents are generally the first victims; and had they been left as individuals in the possession of solid advantages, they would not have entered into a dangerous and unequal contest with the legislature for the purpose of perpetuating a particular system.

Had the Cortes effected some such compromise with the Church, the number of the convents would have been safely diminished; in the mean time, Government would have derived a regular income from their estates, which would have lapsed to the nation at a period when the Representative system had become firmly established, when Spanish capitalists had begun to vest their capital in land, and an increasing confidence in the new order of things had raised its price infinitely beyond what it could attain under the most favourable circumstances at the present time. Besides these distant prospects, they would have secured immediate advantages equally cer-

tain, though more indirect in their nature. In Spain, where ancient usages have always governed the mass of the population, while law has been feeble and inoperative, even in the best days of the Monarchy, the revenue was raised rather by influence than by positive exertion of authority; the magic of the King's name, seconded by an active and devoted priesthood, filled the treasury to a degree that no fiscal severity, unassisted by such powerful auxiliaries, could have effected. If the legislature had adopted a more conciliatory policy towards the clergy, they would have received their continued support; but when the priesthood were passive, or secretly exerting their influence against the Government—when the reverential attachment to the Crown was no longer operative, from its known aversion to the actual system, it becomes easy to account for the difficulty, nay impossibility, that prevailed in many districts, of raising any fair proportion of the existing taxes. The clergy no longer possessed the inclination to grant or the means of levying those sums, by which they had formerly relieved the embarrassments of the Monarchical government; while the abolition of the seignorial rights, the confiscation of Church property, and other acts of this nature had so far shaken public confidence by the extreme discontent they had produced, that Go-

vernment was unable to procure, upon any terms, an adequate loan from their own capitalists, although that class was universally favourable to the Constitution; a striking instance that in an age when credit is strength no permanent advantages can be secured by acts of spoliation and injustice.

On what resources did the Cortes rely for the extinction of the national debt, and for the restoration of an exhausted treasury, without which no government, however popular, can long continue to exist? In the first place, they depended on the profits arising from the sale of ecclesiastical property; secondly, they calculated that the remission of one-half of the tithes would enable the peasant to pay the remainder, and his other taxes with greater cheerfulness. With respect to the sale of the Church lands, did the Cortes forget, in their high estimation of the probable receipts, that the fear of those reverses which have since taken place, the consequent insecurity of tenure, the resentment of a peasantry who imagined the sale and purchase of such property as little less than sacrilege, would greatly diminish its value?—that the policy of throwing at once upon the market such an extent of property as the confiscated estates of the convents, would tend to depreciate them? Did they forget that the laws which they had recently repealed,

touching entails, would increase the surfeit and depress the price of land infinitely below its intrinsic value? Was it probable that capitalists would vest large sums in the acquisition of property liable to be reclaimed, and which the stormy and unsettled character of the times rendered every day more precarious in its tenure? These causes developed themselves gradually: those estates hung heavy on their hands; in some parts the land fell out of cultivation from the want of sufficient superintendence; the purchase proceeded slowly, and the scanty profits derived were, in great part, consumed by the surveyors sent to estimate their value, and the commissioners appointed to conduct the sale. It is only necessary to compare these melancholy facts with the success that attended the sale of Church lands in the reign of Charles the Fourth to feel with what impolicy the Cortes must have acted to produce such different results: at that period, when it was known that such a measure had been freely adopted by the King in Council, and sanctioned by the head of the Church; that a full compensation would be given to the existing clergy, and that no individual of that order would suffer by the change; a very different spirit prevailed, and the estates of the convents were sold at the same rate as patrimonial property. In the opinion of a numerous portion of the Spanish people, the

authority of the Pope could alone give credit and validity to such a measure : his permission had been granted to the sale of Church lands at the period to which I have alluded ; and there is little doubt that it would have been accorded a second time to a reasonable extent, had the proceedings of the Cortes been tempered with the same justice and moderation. With respect to the tithes, one-half had been abolished ; and, as they weighed principally upon the labourer, it was naturally supposed that such a remission could not fail of proving a direct and sensible relief to the most numerous class of the nation. It was not so much from the actual amount of produce received by the tithe officers as from the mode in which it was disposed of, that the enormous revenues of the Spanish clergy were derived. The tithe of corn, oil, and agricultural produce of a permanent nature, was conveyed to the principal town of each district, deposited in magazines, and afterwards sold by auction or contract, as particular circumstances or the actual state of the market might render most advantageous. The possession of capital to a large amount gave them every facility in choosing the particular moment that appeared most favourable for the disposal of their goods ; enabled them to speculate deeply, and to retain their ~~corn~~ in store, sometimes for years, till an

unfortunate season, the failure of crops in any particular district, or general or local circumstances, had raised the price: the warehouses were then opened, and their goods disposed of—always with profit, and sometimes to considerable advantage. In other countries, tithes are considered a heavy and vexatious tax upon industry, seldom collected without murmurs, and always with reluctance; but in Spain the peasant religiously laid aside the best of his produce, marked what he considered to be of superior quality, received the tithe-collector with pleasure, and pressed more than his due proportion of payment on that officer of the church: but when the labouring classes were assured that the tithes were not of Divine right, that in consequence the law had undergone extensive modifications, and that one-half had been conceded in their favour, in some parts of the country they began to entertain doubts as to the necessity of paying the remaining portion, although, generally speaking, they were shocked at a measure which they conceived to be impious. Had the system continued, the expectations of the Cortes would probably have been disappointed; the remission of tithes must have finally produced a corresponding increase of rent, and chiefly benefited the great landholders, whom the Cortes wished to depress, but would not have improved the condition of

the peasant. The priests had suffered severely from the diminution of tithes, which occasioned a proportionate reduction in the incomes of the bishoprics, canonries, and benefices. In addition, the Cortes imposed an annual tax of twenty millions of reals a-year on the secular clergy, which completed their distress.

By these, and acts of a similar nature, the Cortes had completely alienated the clergy and the nobles; they now relied for support upon two bodies, very differently constituted, and possessing very different pretensions—the merchants and the military, who had unequivocally pronounced themselves in their favour from the earliest days of the revolution. The same ill-judged attempt to carry into effect, without any regard for the feelings of individuals or bodies affected, reforms which might have been advisable under judicious limitations, disgusted these most strenuous allies. The pay of the troops was curtailed, the pensions of officers diminished, and regiments remodelled without any attention to the wishes or prejudices of the persons who composed them. The famous insurrection that took place at Madrid on the 7th of July, 1822, was chiefly owing to an ill-timed attempt, on the part of the Cortes, to rectify the imperfect organization of the Royal Guards. With delicate management, this measure might have been ren-

dered less offensive to the feelings of those haughty troops, who esteemed themselves, with reason, the flower of the Spanish army; but this rude attack on privileges, perhaps objectionable, but long established, wounded their sense of military honour, and for some days actually endangered the safety of the state. The Cortes should have proceeded with more caution in any attempt to remodel the army: it is true, the Spanish soldiery had, in the first instance, proclaimed, and afterwards supported the Constitution; but it should have been remembered, that under a despotic government all distinctions centre in the military; in a representative state, the army is little influential and becomes subordinate to the civil power; and although in a country like our own, where the blessings of constitutional government have been long enjoyed, the rights and feelings of the soldier and the citizen are in a great measure blended, very different sentiments might be expected to prevail among a body of men, that till then had formed a distinct class, in a state where such blessings had not yet been felt, and where political rights were still in their infancy.

With the intention of promoting the establishment of home manufactures, and improving such as were already established, the Cortes imposed heavy duties on many articles of foreign mer-

commodities upon which the nation had depended for its principal supply*. But even if capital could have been turned at once into these channels, it would scarcely have been possible, in a country where great difficulty exists in the conveyance of articles used in the manufactories from the want of canals and good roads, where population is scanty, provisions dear, and the rate of wages high, to compete with goods manufactured in countries where the population is overflowing and the price of labour cheap. In America, where speculation is as bold as it is languid in Spain, the same cause—the great expense of manual labour—has prevented the establishment of manufactories to any extent. Manufactures cannot be forced into existence—they must be fostered by circumstances favourable to their growth; and Spain was not so circumstanced, nor could she have been for many years to come. The Cortes had observed the spirit of those laws that have long fettered the trade of Great Britain, and supposed that her commercial wealth had grown into its present importance, not in spite of their operation, but in consequence of that system of restriction; and, while they quoted and followed her example, they did not perceive that she had already recognised the

* I speak of the commercial regulations as they existed when I was in Spain. I believe their rigour was abated in 1823.

mistaken policy of former times, that she was slowly reverting to the principles of free trade, and was gradually disencumbering herself of that artificial and complicated system which they were labouring, *de novo*, to create. But whatever might have been the remote effects of the restrictive system on the manufactures of Spain, its immediate consequences were ruinous indeed: it transferred, as might be expected, a great part of the foreign trade from the merchant to the smuggler; the mercantile interest was disgusted; the revenue suffered materially from the loss of the customs, at a moment when such loss was irreparable; while a host of freebooters, carrying on their illegal traffic with impunity, oppressed the people, added another scourge to the miseries of civil war, and completed the distractions of that unfortunate time.

At the commencement of the revolution, a portion of the middling class was attached rather to the ancient mode of administration than to the existing Government, whose capricious policy had fatigued the most decided supporters of arbitrary power: but principally among this class was also to be found the virtue, intelligence, and effective force, that were enlisted on the side of the revolution. The agricultural class, by far the most numerous, and constituting the physical force of the country, in the first instance rather passive

than averse, beheld in silence the change that was operated in the government: it was evident that their future dispositions would be determined by the measures pursued by the Constitutionalists; had a character of compromise and conciliation actuated their councils a very different spirit would have pervaded the peasantry when the frontiers were menaced with invasion and they were again invited to rally round the national standard. The abolition of the convents, and the treatment of the priesthood, changed their early indifference into active hostility: besides the religious indignation that was excited by the unceremonious suppression of establishments long considered sacred, that measure was productive of extensive misery. A considerable number of the poorer classes (I have heard it estimated at upwards of 90,000) depended almost exclusively on the charity of the monks for their daily subsistence, and besieged the gates of the monasteries at stated hours: their suppression, by suddenly depriving these persons of their accustomed means of subsistence, let loose upon society a host of discontented and dangerous characters; reduced to absolute want, they took up arms against the Government, and resorted to the mountains, where they found ready partisans in the peasantry, and able counsellors and devoted leaders in an exasperated clergy.

These acts were followed by a measure offensive in the last degree to the entire peasantry ; a measure uncalled for by any political expediency, that has been little known out of Spain, and whose practical ill effects have been still less understood. The abolition of the provincial privileges, and more especially the geographical subdivision of Spain, may at first sight appear of trivial interest ; but whoever has resided in the provinces, and observed the public mind, will form very different conclusions, and be surprised that a Spanish legislature should betray such ignorance of Spanish feeling.

It was determined by the Cortes that Spain should be divided into smaller provinces or departments better calculated for the purposes of local administration. The ancient provinces were superseded and their very names erased from the map of Spain. A complete uniformity of political institutions may be desirable, but is by no means necessary to the establishment of civil freedom. In England and in Scotland different systems of law prevail, but the two people have not co-operated less warmly ; the unity of action has not been impeded, nor has the cause of liberty suffered, although some local inconveniences may have arisen from their different jurisprudence : but when the Constitution was established in 1820 few substantial rights were still existing in

the Spanish provinces; and, with some exceptions *, the shadow of their privileges, rather than the actual privileges, remained: but a large portion of the nation clung to these remains, which might have been safely conceded by the Cortes; such a mark of respect would have flattered provincial pride, would have disarmed their antagonists of one of their keenest weapons, and have gone far in attaching the people to their cause. At all events, the ancient names of the provinces should have been carefully, even ostentatiously preserved; names, and usages, and limits, dear to the peasant, associated with the traditions of his fathers, connected with the memorials of his childhood, and inseparably blended with the haughtiest recollections of Spanish glory and independence. In Madrid, and some of the great towns, this measure was regarded with comparative indifference; but throughout the country the intelligence was received with sorrow and indignation. The reasons alleged for the subdivision of the provinces were grounded on the inconvenience arising from their unequal distribution; but probably the secret motive of that determination arose from a belief that by con-

* These exceptions referred to the Basque provinces and Navarre. I did not enter into the question of their privileges in this hasty sketch, because at the time when it was first published the Constitution was overthrown, and their liberties had been restored by Ferdinand's government.

founding ancient limits, and breaking down former attachments, they would more rapidly obliterate the memory of the old regime, and create new interests more immediately connected with the representative system. The names of the principal squares or streets of every town or village throughout Spain underwent alterations, and Constitutional titles were affixed in the place of their patron saints. These proceedings, apparently immaterial, acting upon a bigotted peasantry, produced serious irritation: in these changes they beheld the Constitution not only opposed but preferred to their religion; the clergy availed themselves of this error, and the feelings of the peasantry became more embittered, and their hatred to the new institutions more intense, from causes so trivial and absurd. Unfortunately, in the prosecution of these, as of other measures, the Cortes followed the example of republican France, without perceiving that the different state of society in that country, and the dissimilarity of national character, required a different policy: among the French, there existed little attachment to old institutions; in Spain it is the ruling passion of the people. Paris was the main-spring that regulated the movements of the French revolution, and gave the impulse to the remotest corners of the kingdom. The strength of the Spanish revolution resided in

Madrid; but its population was more divided in opinion, and the moral influence of the capital scarcely extended beyond its gates. Among the peasantry in France, except in a few provinces, little resistance was offered to the republicans: in Spain, the rustic population was for the most part animated with the same passions and attachments as the people of La Vendée; and the memory of that eventful struggle should have shown the Cortes the danger of offending local feeling, or of interfering with names and limits endeared to the people by past recollections. They proceeded on a mistaken principle: they should have firmly but cautiously directed the progress of free institutions; they should not have continually reminded the peasant of a revolution whose merits he could not appreciate, and which his previous habits and mode of thinking would naturally induce him to regard with dislike: he should have discovered that he was a freeman in the midst of a free population, by the improvement of his own condition, and of all who were connected with him. They should have written the Constitution, not on the squares of the city, but in the hearts of the citizens: they should have cherished these local attachments as the guardian spirit of Spain; attachments that were pure in their origin, and noble in their results. During the late Spanish war, the French

had no greater difficulty to contend with than this provincial spirit. The panic that attends upon victory frequently stupefies a whole country, and subjects it to the conqueror; but, in Spain, the ideal limits that separated their provinces presented a real and efficient barrier: the submission of one province formed no precedent for its neighbour, but stimulated it to acts of greater heroism, to prove its decided superiority; in a country where this jealous and independent spirit in some degree compensates for the deficiency of good discipline, great victories became comparatively useless, and the enemy were compelled to vanquish town after town, and district after district, before they could gain the mastery of public opinion, or triumph over the obstinate emulation of the rival provinces.

The elevation of the old Spanish character is still to be found in the peasant; without the enjoyment of civil freedom, he has retained an upright independence that fits him for its reception. It was not easy or desirable to eradicate feelings which had been the growth of centuries: the Cortes could not remodel the Spanish character by an ideal standard of French perfection; they had the richest materials to work upon, and a just view of mankind would have led them to adapt their measures to the temper of the people; they might lead, they could not force, society to

the level of their institutions : they should have combined the principles of liberty with the ancient forms of the monarchy, and they would have wound themselves into the hearts of the people, and have given character and permanency to the new institutions.

I have attempted to sketch the causes that alienated the leading interests of Spain from the government of the Cortes : in many instances the failure of their reforms resulted from defective principle ; in others from the injudicious moment selected for carrying them into effect, the unjust and clumsy means by which they were effected, and the contempt of circumstances that should regulate the application of all general rules. Although many of the evils that had afflicted Spain before the changes in 1820 were aggravated during the three years that the Constitution existed, and others had grown out of actual circumstances, it is but fair to add, that the policy of the Cortes appears to its greatest disadvantage, if we only judge of it by the suffering state of the people, while they were passing through the fiery ordeal of revolution : all the mischiefs that had resulted from a headlong attack on old interests had manifested themselves on every point, and sometimes indirectly affected the country in a manner that had been little expected, while the benefits that might have

arisen from the removal of some restrictions injurious to the happiness and freedom of the people, had not yet begun to operate. While I was in Spain the Cortes were engaged in the formation of a new code of laws, distinguished by the same spirit of over-legislation that characterized all their proceedings, but which might eventually have led to an improved system of jurisprudence : the corrupt administration of justice, and the inefficiency of the police, were evils daily felt ; the correction of these abuses, if it had been effected, would have been a great benefit to the country. The decrees that qualified reprisals in war, that placed the persons and properties of strangers under the special protection of Government, and the recognition of the old debt of Spain, for which the former administrations had ceased to pay interest, are among the few acts that reflect credit on the Cortes ; but the policy which they pursued towards their South American states had a very different character.

The resistance which they manifested abroad to the growth of principles which they were advocating at home, threw a deep shade over the sincerity of their opinions. The revolution brought with it that fortunate crisis, when, justified by principles which themselves had established, Spanish pride might have stooped with-

out humiliation, and yielded with dignity what it could no longer retain; but, with a strange obstinacy of purpose and inefficiency of means, the Spaniards threw away the opportunity of securing those political interests and commercial advantages, which respect and gratitude and old connexions would still have maintained in their favour, under the vain belief that they might yet recover the dominion of provinces, whose interests had become too opposed to theirs, and whose population had grown too powerful and independent to acknowledge any longer the claims of a distant legislature. Unable to render their power respected thirty miles from Madrid, the Cortes protracted an unavailing contest with the liberties of a country, where freedom was appreciated, not as in Spain, by a few zealous supporters of abstract principles, but by every individual who had tasted the solid advantages which it secured to him, by the establishment of a freer trade, the growth of commercial enterprize, and by increased comforts and diminished prices. Where the foundations of liberty rest on the daily comforts of the people, the superstructure will be of adamant, and all calculations of the success to be expected from superior numbers and better discipline arrayed against it, are illusive: such were its foundations in Spanish America; but in the

mother-country few feelings were enlisted in favour of the Constitution, and few comforts secured by its establishment.

During the time that I was in Spain, a sensible change took place in public opinion: feelings became more exasperated, the Royalists and the ultra-Constitutionalists became mutually more powerful, while the party that held the balance, and controlled the excesses of both, declined in numbers and influence. Many, who had been friendly to moderate measures, began to suspect that the Constitution was no longer tenable, and enlisted with either of the prevailing parties, as they were influenced by their interests, their connexions, their passions, or their prejudices. Some, for the first time, looked forward to a republic as the only guarantee against the return of a system which they detested; while others, whose persons were endangered, and whose properties suffered by the partial acts of the Cortes, in a grievous sense of present evil, remembered with regret the tranquil despotism of the preceding Government. In the heat of civil war, the convulsed districts presented a picture, such as perhaps has never been paralleled. The Constitutional forces consisted of the local militias and regular corps—some compromised by their political conduct, others sincerely attached to the Constitution,—all intoxicated with the restless

spirit of the time. On the other hand, the army of the Faith presented all the fanaticism and credulous belief of the middle ages, combined with high but irregular notions of honour, and an exaggerated but chivalrous devotion to the Crown. When I left Spain, it laboured under the united evils of a ruined treasury, of a powerless executive, wasting its last resources in a civil contest from whose success no advantages could be reaped, and where victory, though a diminished, was still a positive evil, of increasing disunion with other Governments, and a foreign army gathering on the frontiers: such was the gloomy picture which Spain presented in 1822. Since that time every trace of the Constitutional system has vanished, and the despotic rule has returned in all its ancient force.—Such was the close of a revolution that, under happier auspices, might have secured to Spain the enjoyment of free institutions, have set an example of moderation to the states that adopted her policy, and advanced the liberties of mankind.

REMARKS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF
CATALONIA.

It must appear somewhat singular that the Catalans, who drained their dearest veins in support of Don Carlos, a few years ago, have not shown as great a zeal on the present occasion, and indeed, in some places, have remained almost passionless spectators of the struggle, although that Prince had actually taken the field, in person, and his cause was intimately connected with those provincial distinctions of the kingdom to which they were so strongly attached. This apparent inconsistency of conduct must have forced itself on the observation of every man previously acquainted with the internal state of Spain.

The solution of this difficulty is to be found in the utter mismanagement of the Carlist resources by the Carlist chiefs of Catalonia, in 1827; it is to be found in the ill-judged insurrection of 1827, and in the consequent exhaustion of a party which, united to the forces of Biscay and Navarre, might, in its pristine and unbroken strength, have unseated the Queen's Government. The long and desolating civil war of 1822 and 1823 had weakened the Royalist party in Catalonia. Another severe struggle, within four years, was

no slight tax even on the warlike genius of that province. That second struggle was also sanguinary, and the destruction of their chiefs, who perished in the field and on the scaffold, was a circumstance more ruinous to the interests of the party than even their numerical loss, which might have been more easily repaired. The Catalonian Carlist had lost the chiefs who had been trained to Guerilla habits in that admirable school, the long and trying struggle with imperial France, who had become perfected in that peculiar species of warfare by the protracted contest of 1822 and 1823; and who relied not solely on the native courage of their followers for success, but possessed foresight, tact, and discretion, availed themselves of every local advantage, averted every avoidable danger, and baffled the operations of the Constitutional leaders, by means less systematic perhaps, but on their theatre of action not less effective than those which obtained among the regular forces.

The mode, too, in which the struggle of 1827 terminated, was another circumstance highly prejudicial to the eventual interests of the party in Catalonia. The Carlists were neither conquerors, nor yet conquered. Had they been victorious, the consciousness and elation of success would have atoned for many losses, and the remembrance of former triumphs, and the bond of

a common principle, would now have induced them to make common cause with the Basques. Had they been suppressed by force of arms, a burning sense of dishonour might have survived defeat, and have prompted them to take the earliest opportunity of avenging the indignity. But when they discovered, in 1827, that the King was a free agent, and Don Carlos determinately opposed to their proceedings, their devoted attachment to their chiefs was replaced by irritation and distrust; and they dispersed, not broken by defeat, but humbled by the conviction that for months their exertions had been directed against an imaginary evil, and in support of a King who did not stand in need of their assistance.

Under these circumstances, and with such humiliating recollections connected, not with the character of Don Carlos, but with the unwarrantable abuse of his name; deprived, too, of their chiefs, it was not likely the Catalan should raise the war-cry for that Prince within six years of those events. The inactivity of Catalonia, during the prevailing contest, must not, however, induce us to form an erroneous estimate of the strength of the Royalist or Carlist party in that important province; their actual tranquillity is the result, not of inherent weakness, still less of attachment to the Queen's Government; it is the natural effect of causes temporary in their operation:

they have been tasked beyond their powers; they have been rendered unserviceable for present purposes by past mismanagement; they have been fairly borne down by a series of unnatural exertions: in a time of comparative quiet they should have husbanded their resources for a time of emergency; but, contrary to the counsel of the shrewdest men of their party, they unsheathed the sword when their shattered state imperatively required the balsam of peace: they anticipated their powers in a useless struggle; they spent their oil when the sun was high, and night found them unprepared; like a weary giant the Royalist strength in Catalonia is exhausted for the moment, but its vital principle is not extinct; and if the present contest in the north of Spain endure, another set of chieftains, not less able and not less adventurous, may grow out of the continuance, and be formed by the circumstances of the war: their old and unabated attachment to Don Carlos may again kindle into action, and the reviving spirit of the Catalans may yet strew with many thorns the couch of the Queen of Spain.

It must also be remembered that, although subdued for the moment, the Carlist principle in Catalonia is infinitely stronger now, in numbers, in respectability, and in opinion, than when, in 1827, it was maintained at the point of the sword.

The calm, the cautious, the considerate, shrank at that period from abetting an enterprise, then manifestly illegal under every point of view ; but of these an immense proportion are equally convinced that, since that period, Don Carlos has become, by the natural course of events, the undoubted heir of the Spanish monarchy.

NOTES

TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

[In these Notes I have inserted some of the old proclamations and public papers to which I have alluded in the historical chapter of my work (vol. ii., p. 182), and on which I have in some degree founded my argument. I have also annexed a literal translation of those documents which appeared to be most interesting or most essential to the points under discussion.]

THE Basques, Vasques, or Guasques, have been at all times a most remarkable people, and to this day speak a language of their own, entirely different from that made use of in other parts of Spain, with which indeed it bears no kind of analogy. It appears, from various sources, that the Highland districts of Biscay, Alava, and Guipuzcoa were never subdued by the Romans, invincible on every other soil. For this reason we cannot discover, in those parts of the Basque provinces, any traces of the language and the laws, the customs or the religion, of those masters of the world. Towards the close of the Neustrian empire the Basques were celebrated for their military achievements, and overran and subjected, though they did not long retain, a large portion of France.* Gascony tells its own tale, and is evidently a legacy bequeathed by the Basques or Guasques, as they were then indiscriminately called. The Mahometan invaders were not more successful in their efforts against these Highlanders of the north of Spain ;

* Michelet.

among their rocks, for centuries, the persecuted faith of Christ found a secure asylum, when, except in the Asturias, the Crescent had almost everywhere in Spain replaced the Cross. From these wild fastnesses the tide of Christianity, that had ebbed so low, was destined to flow back over its lost domain, in a course of gradual and progressive triumph, till it had again no limits but the sea.

Don Rodrigo Toledano observes,—“Saraceni totam Hispaniam occupaverunt gentes Gothicæ fortitudine jam contrita nec alicubi resistente, exceptis paucis reliquijs, quæ in montanis Asturiarum, Viscagiæ et Alavæ, Guipuzcoæ, Ruconix, et Aragoniæ remanserant, quas ideo Dominus reservavit ne lucerna Sanctorum in Hispanis coram Domino extingueretur.”—*Rodrigo Toledano*, lib. iv. cap. 1.

“En las partes de los Pirineos, que están mas à la mar mayor y los contornos de estos lugares, que descenden en Guipuzcoa, y costean el mar se estienden por Alaba y Bizcaya, quedaron los Christianos tan exemptos de los Moros como primero lo fueron de los Romanos.”—*Bueter*, lib. i. cap. 30.

“Otra parte se encerró en los montes Pirineos en sus cumbres y aspereza dō moran los Vizcaynos y los Navarros. Estos confiados en la fortaleza y fragura de aquellos lugares, no solo defendieron su libertad sino trataron y acometieron tambien de ayudar à los demas en España.”—*Mariana*, lib. viii. c. 1.

“*Guipuzcoan union with Castille.*” p. 210.

Guipuzcoa is defended by the Crown, Biscay by the people themselves. The King's Governor in Guipuzcoa cannot, however, interfere in civil matters. A Corregidor appointed by the Crown presides over the Guipuzcoan parliament, as in Alava and Biscay. The Guipuz-

coan junta is composed of the Corregidor, four Deputies from San Sebastian, Tolosa, Aspeitia, and Azcoitia, each of whom must be an inhabitant of the town he represents, and Deputies from every village of the province.

Speaking of the Guipuzcoan towns, Garibay observes that "King Alonso confirmed to them their fueros, which were afterwards confirmed to them by other Kings."—Lib. xii. c. 29.

"*The King unwisely addressed a pedido to his Guipuzcoan subjects.*" p. 238.

The pedido was considered a direct infringement of their rights. Garibay states that "there is an original document in the archives of Mondragon stating that the King Don Pedro imposed a hundred thousand maravedis of tribute, under the name of pedido, on all the towns from the northern bank of the Ebro to the sea coast, including Guipuzcoa, but the nobles of that province ordered the King to search for a precedent; and as none could be found the King commanded his secretaries to register and note down that the demand should never more be repeated."—Lib. xv. cap. 34.

"*The Deputies of Guipuzcoa resolved on the 10th of August, 1391.*" p. 238.

The following resolution, passed by the Deputies of Guipuzcoa assembled at Tolosa on the day specified, is a striking proof of the consideration which the popular representatives had attained even at that early period, and of the weight and influence they possessed. They enacted that "If any inhabitant of Guipuzcoa be summoned by the King, or his Governor of Castille, on account of his refusal to pay the tribute, or on any similar ground, he shall not obey the summons, but the Depu-

ties of the towns shall go forth and inquire into the cause of the summons, and answer for him." The Guipuzcoan representatives had higher notions of their own importance in the fourteenth century than the Commons of England after the lapse of more than one hundred and fifty years from the period in question. Those Deputies were accustomed to give laws to their country, and arrange their internal affairs with moderation and firmness, at a time when the popular branch of the English legislature were told by their Sovereign that they were only brute folk and inexperienced. Yet against the descendants of such men, and against their hereditary liberties, have we, their younger brothers in the art of government, waged a most indefensible war.

"A Deputy, transported with rage, slew the encroaching Minister on the spot." p. 244.

The murder of the Jew Gaon is differently related by different writers, though all concur in stating that it was occasioned by an attempt on his part to levy the *pedido* upon the Guipuzcoans in the King's name. Mariana says that he was killed by the people; Garibay attributes his death to the *Hidalgos*; others impute it to a Deputy. We find this brief account of the transaction in Mariana:—

"En Tolosa, pueblo de Guipuzcoa, el comun del pueblo mató en seis de Mayo à un Judio llamado Gaon; fue la ocasion que por estar el Rey cerca, entretanto que se entretenia en Fuenterrabia, empezó el Judio a cobrar cierta imposicion que se llamaba el *Pedido* sobre que antiguamente hubo grandes alteraciones entre los de aquella nacion, y al presente

At Tolosa, a town of Guipuzcoa, the common people killed, on the 6th of May, a Jew of the name of Gaon; the event occurred in this manner:—While the King was at Fuenterrabia, the said Jew began to exact a sort of contribution called the "*Pedido*," which had formerly excited much disturbance among the inhabitants of that country;

llevaban mal que se les quebrantasen en sus privilegios y libertades. No castigò este delito y esta muerte.”—Tom. ii., lib. 23, cap. 6.

and on the present occasion they were displeased at this violation of their privileges and liberties. This crime and murder was not punished.”—Tom. ii., lib. 13, cap. 6.

Garibay enters into the transaction at greater length, and observes, with respect to the authors of Gaon's death, that “the *Hidalgos* of Guipuzcoa, indignant at an outrage which their privileges and lordly nature (*hidalgua*) could not brook, killed the Jew in the town of Tolosa, on the 6th of May, while the King was at Fuenterrabia, being induced to act thus in defence of their privileges, and in order that no man should hereafter dare to commit a similar outrage.”—Lib. xvii. cap. 9.

“*Tell this to King Henry! Return, and bid him remember that one of the fundamental laws of our people runs thus:—We ordain that if any one, whether native or foreigner, should coerce any man, woman, people, &c. he shall be disobeyed, and if he persists, killed.*” p. 246.

The old Guipuzcoan law runs thus:—“We ordain and command, that if any native lord or foreigner, under the pretext of royal letters or provisions from the king our lord, which have not been previously submitted to the junta, and approved of by them, if such a person shall commit aught against the privileges of the province, and shall endeavour to do aught against the right of any inhabitant or inhabitants of the towns and villages, they shall not obey him or permit him to carry his intentions into effect; on the contrary, they shall resist him, and if they cannot make him desist by fair means they shall kill him, and the towns and villages

shall defend the killers or wounders.”—*Book of the Guipuzcoan Fueros*, cap. ii. tit. 39.

An Alcalde of Fontarabia attempted, in 1742, to violate the Guipuzcoan privileges, by trying to carry into effect a royal order transmitted to him through Don Josef del Campiño, the Minister of that day, without having previously submitted it to the Provincial Deputation. Guipuzcoa was thrown into the greatest ferment by this departure from the law and usage of the land, but was as quickly appeased by a royal order rebuking the Alcalde, and commanding that officer to give ample satisfaction to the deputation for the outrage he had so wantonly committed.

“He hecho presente al Rey la carta de vm. de 8 del corriente, en que dá cuenta de lo ha que executado en cumplimiento de la orden que se le dió en 21 del pasado para la soltura de M. Blanchet, y lo que de ello ha resultado, y ha sido del desagrado de S.M. que vm. no exhibiese su real orden para que constase de ella á la provincia y contribuyese á su observancia, como S.M. no duda lo haria por la experiencia que tiene de su obediencia, y no se hubiera dilatado la execucion de la orden, ni vm. hubiera pasado á la prision del Alcalde de Sacas, que ha dado lugar á que la provincia haya despachado contra vm. judicialmente mandandole comparecer á su jurisdiccion; por lo qual, no queriendo S. M. que este modo de proceder de vm. dé motivo en adelante á que se

“I have laid before the King your letter of the 8th instant, giving an account of what you have done in the execution of the order sent to you on the 21st of last month, respecting the discharge of M. Blanchet, and its results. It has displeased H. M. that you should not have exhibited his royal order, in order that the province, on being informed of it, should have concurred in its execution, as H. M. does not doubt it would have done, having so many proofs of its obedience; and by that means the execution of the order would not have been delayed; neither should you have gone to the prison of the Alcalde de Sacas, which has induced the province to make a judicial representation against you, requiring your appearance before its

sienta, como lo ha hecho en esta ocasion, una provincia que le es muy fiel; manda S. M. que vm. comparezca ante ella, como le ha intimado, dexando S. M. á la diligencia de la diputacion la libertad de Blanchet, como ya le está prevenido en fecha de 15 del corriente y se le repite hoy."

jurisdiction. H. M. therefore, being unwilling that your conduct in this respect should give offence to a province so faithful, commands you to appear before it, according to the notification, H. M. leaving the question of Blanchet's discharge at the discretion of the deputation, as determined upon on the 15th instant, and communicated again this day."

"*The union of Alava with Castile.*" p. 211.

["*The deputies found the King at Burgos, and made him a formal tender of the county, &c. And there, in the presence of the Hidalgos and the Prelate of Calahorra, &c.*"]

"From the time that Alava was conquered and taken from the Navarrese, it has always been an independent lordship, disposable at the will of the Hidalgos and native proprietors of the land of Alava. Sometimes they gave the lordship to one of the sons of the Kings (of Castile, I imagine), sometimes to the Lord of Biscay; sometimes to the House of Lara, and sometimes to the Lord of the Cameros. And during all that time, no king held lordship in the land, nor appointed officers to administer justice, except in the towns of Vitoria and Treviño, which were his own; and all that land, these towns excepted, was called the Fraternity of Alava. And when the King was at Burgos, the deputies from the Fraternity of Alava, and the nobles and the proprietors of the soil, with a deputation from the rest, came to the King and told him that they were willing to give him the lordship of all the land of Alava, and they requested him to receive the lordship of the land, and to give them their fueros reduced to writing, by which they might be

governed, and that he should appoint officers to administer justice. And upon this the King left Burgos, and went to Vitoria. And when he was there, the Bishop of Calahorra came to him and said, 'Señor, whoever is Bishop of Calahorra, is one of the Fraternity of Alava; and, as a Brother of the Fraternity, I come to tell you that all the Hidalgos and proprietors of Alava are assembled in the field of Arriaga, which is the spot where they have been accustomed to assemble time out of mind; and they have begged me to come and tell you this, and request you to proceed to the Junta, and they will give you the Lordship of Alava, as they have already informed you by their deputies.' And the King went to the Junta in the field of Arriaga."—Cronica de Don Alonzo XI. de Castilla. Cerda y Rico, cap. 100.

Don Lorenzo Padilla, a most careful author, observes that "La provincia ó cofradia de Alaba siempre fue libre y tomaba por Señor á quien le parecia y asi fueron Señores de ella muchos de la casa de Guebara y de la de Mendoza, y por la mayor parte se encomendaban á los Señores de Bizcaya, ó á los de los Cameros, y asi estuvieron encomendados á Don Lope de Haro."

It appears that in Alava, as well as in Guipuzcoa, an attempt was made, during the last century, to enforce the Royal orders without previously submitting them, as the law required, to the popular authorities of the province. This intended encroachment upon the Alavese liberties appears to have originated with one of the Ministers of the Crown, but was speedily arrested by a Royal order, bearing date the 6th of August, 1703.

"Pero por fortuna semejantes disputas terminaron en 6 de Agosto del año de 1703, en que se concedió á aquella provincia real privilegio defendido de D. Josef

"These disputes fortunately terminated on the 6th of August, 1703, when a royal *privilegio* countersigned by Don Joseph Nicholas, of Castro, was granted to the

Nicholas de Castro, mandando, 'que todos los despachos, que se dirigieren á jueces de comision y á otros en la provincia de Alaba, hayan de ser presentados primero en su junta, ó ante el diputado general, para que se reconozcan si tienen cosa que contravenga á los fueros, leyes y preeminencias de la provincia, y en caso que se vulneren en todo ó en parte, se obedezcan y no se cumplan dichos despachos.' "

province, ordering 'that all warrants addressed to the judges of the commission, or to other persons in the province of Alaba, should be first presented to their junta, or submitted to the *Deputado General*, to ascertain whether it contain anything contrary to the fueros, laws, and privileges, and if those privileges should be in any degree affected by its contents such warrants shall be obeyed but not carried into effect.' "

It is curious to perceive with what perseverance and complete success the Basques have defeated every attack upon their freedom. Will her Majesty of Spain and the British Cabinet succeed in effecting the overthrow of that independence which neither the Romans, nor the Mahometans, nor the early monarchs of Spain, nor their foreign allies, nor the later sovereigns of the country were able to subvert?

"To these articles the King subscribed." p. 213.

Alavese union with Castile.—It was also agreed in the Alavese contract, that no iron foundries should be established in Alava that the forests might not be wasted; that the *Alcaldes* should be natives of Alava; that the *Hidalgos* residing in the hamlets next to Vitoria should be considered as nobles of Alava, although Vitoria and Treviño were specifically exempted from the operation of that article which precluded the King of Castile from the right of appointing governors to the Alavese towns. It was also stipulated that the monasteries and property of the Alavese should be their own; a clause intelligible enough, though oddly worded, and apparently involving

a truism, but which only implied that the King their lord had no right to interfere with the conventual property, although, as patron, he possessed the privilege of appointing the abbots. If I were inclined to swell the catalogue of outrages perpetrated by the Queen's Government upon the Basques, I might dwell upon the decrees which have suppressed the monastic institutions in Alava, as in the rest of Spain; a direct contravention of an ancient fuero, and most essential article of the Union.

“Estando el Rey en Burgos, le vinieron embaxadores de aquella parte de Cantabria ó Bizcaya llamada Alaba, que le ofrecian el señorío de aquella tierra, que hasta entonces era libre, acostumbra á vivir por si misma con propios fueros y leyes excepto Vitoria y Treviño, que mucho tiempo antes eran de la Corona de Castilla. En los llanos de Arriaga en que por costumbre antigua hacian sus concejos y juntas dieron la obediencia al Rey en persona: allí la libertad en que por tantos siglos se mantuvieron inviolablemente, de su propia y espontánea voluntad, la pusieron debaxo de la confianza y señorío del Rey; concediéndoseles á su instancia que viviesen conforme al fuero de Calahorra; y confirdeles sus privilegios antiguos, con que se conservan hasta hoy en un estado semejante al de la libertad, ca no se les puede imponer ni hechar

Mariana states, in lib. 16, that “The King being at Burgos some ambassadors from that part of Cantabria, or Biscay, called Alaba, came unto him, offering him the lordship of that country, which had been free till then, accustomed to govern itself with its own fueros and laws, except Vitoria and Treviño, which long before belonged to the Crown of Castile. On the plains of Arriaga, where, in conformity with ancient usage, they held their councils and juntas, and gave obedience to the King in person, they, of their own accord, and by their own spontaneous will, placed under the protection and seignory of the King, the liberty which for so many centuries they had inviolably maintained. At their own requisition he agreed that they should be governed by the fuero of Calahorra, and he confirmed their ancient privileges so that they remain at

nuevos pechos ni alcabalas. De todos estos conciertos hay cartas del Rey D. Alonso, data en Vitoria á dos dias de Abril de 1332."

the present moment in a state as that of liberty, because no sort of tribute, nor excise can be imposed upon them. Of all these covenants there are letters-patent of King Don Alonso, dated at Vitoria, on the 2nd of April, 1332."

Every Biscayan is noble, and is recognised as such by the law in every province of Spain. A perfect equality of civil rights prevails in Biscay. The Biscayans are all equal in the eye of the law, from the tenant of the Casa Solar to the humblest peasant of the soil. They participate equally in the benefit of their fueros, are equally bound by the law, and receive the same measure of justice.

No direct taxes, or indirect contributions, were levied upon the Biscayans by the Spanish Government. The King, as lord, had the following rents, as expressed in the fueros of Biscay:—"The Lords of Biscay had always on certain houses and lands, in all the towns of Biscay, a fixed annual rent and cess; and so likewise they have in the iron works a duty of sixteen dineros viejos on every hundred weight of forged iron, and on the monasteries and prebends. But they have never had any alcavala, or duties on goods passed across the mountains, or contributions; on the contrary, the Biscayans and the Hidalgos of Biscay, and the inhabitants of Durango, are now and have always been free and exempt from every contribution, from all service, from any alcavala, and from every imposition of whatever nature it may be."—Fueros of Biscay Law, 4 Tit. i.

There were no custom-houses established along the Biscayan frontier of France, and the Spanish Government were unable to impose such a restriction upon their

trade as long as it respected the fueros of Biscay. This exemption is one of the greatest privileges enjoyed by the Basques; but it has been assailed by the Queen's Government in that spirit of wanton aggression which has characterised her policy towards the Basques.

The King's troops cannot enter the province upon any pretext whatever, either in time of peace or war. A special permission from the General Junta may, under peculiar circumstances, justify such a proceeding.

The Parliament, or General Junta of Biscay, is composed of the Corregidores and three Lieutenant-Corregidores, appointed by the Crown, but not empowered to vote; six Regidores, officers elected by the Junta, and in some degree resembling our aldermen; the two popular tribunes, chosen also by the Junta, and the deputies sent from the towns, villages, hamlets, and scattered houses of the lordship.

The deputies assemble, on the day of convocation, beneath the celebrated tree of Guernica, and take their seats on benches of stone. The arms of Castile glitter above the seat occupied by the Lord of Biscay, or by the deputy Corregidor, who, for many generations past, has always presided in his place, and the arms of Biscay are displayed above the opposite seat of the popular tribunes. After the customary forms and oaths, the Deputies enter the church; but before they commence the labours of the Session, they institute an inquiry into the list of Deputies returned. With a simplicity worthy of the patriarchal times, they pass under a brief review the name of every deputy, to ascertain that he is pure and unspotted in his general character, as no vicious man, in their opinion, should legislate for a free and virtuous state. And indeed they have well deserved the love of their country. They do not bear the name of deputies, as in other states, but are called, and have been known im-

memorially, in Biscay, as the *Guizon-onac*, or good men of the land; a touching proof of the integrity with which they have exercised their functions from generation to generation, and of the perfect confidence reposed in them by their contented fellow-countrymen. What a tale of virtuous government and real sympathy between the people and their representatives is disclosed in this single and simple expression of popular good will!

"No order of the Spanish Government is directly received by the Basque Parliament." p. 217.

Any Royal order sent from Castile to Biscay is addressed to the Corregidor, and is presented by this officer to the members of the permanent deputation, by whom it is referred to the popular tribunes. If the order is confirmed by their sanction, it is carried into effect; if disapproved by them, it remains a dead letter.

"Deputies confirm or condemn the order."
p. 218.

On questions of very doubtful or difficult decision the Deputies sometimes request the presence of the Fathers of their country, *Patricios de Biscaya*, men so called from the great consideration in which they are held. They are, generally speaking, individuals of high personal character, who, now perhaps retired from public life, have yet taken an active part in the Junta, have belonged to the permanent deputation, are profoundly versed in the laws of their country, and are considered, from their known opinions, and from the past habits of their lives, as strongly disposed to maintain, in all their integrity, the ancient *fueros* of the land.

"During the interval which elapses between the close of the Session and the re-assembling of Parliament, the administration of public affairs is vested in a Commission residing at Bilboa." p. 218.

The permanent commission superintend the collection of the contributions, manage the expenditure both in the civil and military departments, and administer justice. Their proceedings have, however, no legal effect, unless sanctioned by one at least of the popular tribunes, who are bound to scrutinize their measures with great severity, that no act may be committed, either purposely or unintentionally, directly or indirectly, against the liberties of the land. The deputation are compelled to publish, a fortnight before the re-assembling of the Junta, a detailed statement of the course pursued during their administration, and are bound to send copies of the document to every member of parliament. When the Junta meets, a discussion generally arises with reference to some part of their conduct, upon which the tribunes appear, and freely take part in the debates. The tribuneship, it may be observed, is in Biscay a post of great trust and distinction, because the liberties of the subject may be materially affected by a skilful or incompetent discharge of the duties annexed to the office.

The General Junta of Biscay assembles every two years; that of Guipuzcoa every year, in the month of July, and that of Alava three times in the course of every year. The provincial fueros were for ages the common law of the land, and were only reduced to writing in 1452, in the reign of Juan the Second, by a commission appointed for that purpose. In the following century the Biscayan code, as I have already observed, was reformed, printed, and recognised, in its amended state, by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, as the established law of the land.

As far as it is possible to ascertain the truth at so remote a period, it appears that Zenon, Lord of Biscay, had two daughters, one of whom was married to Arista, King of Navarre, and the other Dona Iñiga, the heiress of Biscay, to Don Lope Zuria, son of one of the most powerful nobles of Biscay. We are told, that on account of the "noble qualities and great valour which he displayed in the battle and victory of Arrigoriaga, he was chosen as their Lord by the Biscayans assembled under the tree of Guernica, on condition that he would swear to maintain their rights and privileges. Garibay, speaking of this transaction, observes, "Refieren mas, que assentado con el sus fueros y orden que adelante havran de tener, commenzó el dicho año á ser Señor de Bizcaya," ix. cap. 22. Navarro also states, "Y los Biscaynos assentaron con el sus fueros leyes y usos y le tomaron por su Señor, ni absoluto ni soberano sino con sus leyes y condiciones y con pacto de ellas le juraron por tal el mismo año," cap. 7. [*The Biscayans covenanted with him with respect to their fueros, their laws, and their customs, and chose him as their Lord, not as their absolute or sovereign master, but with laws to bind him, and with stipulations, and with an agreement to observe them, they swore to him as to their lord that very year.*] Carmona states, "Viscayni dominum et principem sibi assumpserunt Zuriam non tamen absolute sed certis adhibitis pactionibus quibus eximia sibi privilegia Biscayni reserbabant quæ retulit Gutierres." Aut. 24. Gutierres confirms this statement, and specifies the privileges, lib. iii.

From these statements, and from the accounts of other early writers, who concur in the assertion, that when Lope de Zuria was chosen by the Biscayans as their lord, he swore to observe their privileges, as then established, it may be inferred, that when those old

chroniclers wrote, the rights in question were ancient, and lost, perhaps even then, in the night of time. The Biscayan fueros were therefore, at a very remote period, the common law of the land; their constitution is probably the oldest in the world, and has been the least subject to those vicissitudes which attend all human institutions. As the Highland districts of Biscay were never overrun by a foreign enemy, it is impossible to assign any date to the commencement of their liberties.

The Biscayans were so jealous of their privileges, and surrounded them with so much "form and circumstance, that they compelled their lords, at their accession to the lordship, to take the oath to maintain the rights of Biscay, in four different places, specifically named by the Book of the Fueros. He was first required to take the oath, "A las puertas de la Villa de Bilbao," and then, in the words of the fuero, "Dende ha de venir á San Emetrio Celadon de Larraverna; y ende en manos del Clerigo Sacerdote que tenga el cuerpo de Dios nuestro Señor consagrado en las manos, ha de jurar lo mismo . . . y assi venido á la dicha Guernica so el Arbol de ella, donde se acostumbran hacer las juntas de Bizcaya, ha de jurar e confirmar todas las libertades e privilegios e franquezas e fueros e costumbres que los dichos Bizcaynos han, y tierras y mercedes que han del Rey y de los Señores passados de los guardar y tener e mandar tener y guardar . . . y dende ha de ir a la villa de Bermeo donde en Santa Eufemia de la dicha villa y ante el Altar de la dicha Iglesia, estando ende el Clerigo Sacerdote revestido, teniendo en las manos el Cuerpo de Dios consagrado, ha de poner la mano en el dicho Altar, e jurar lo mismo."—*La Ley, 2 del Titulo, 1.*—The oath was, therefore, to be taken by the new lord, before the gates of Bilbao; secondly, under circumstances of great solemnity, in the parochial

church and juradera of San Emetrio; thirdly, beneath the tree of Guernica; and, lastly, in the juradera of Santa Eufemia.

I have observed, that from the time of Lope de Zuria till 1105, the Lords of Biscay were chosen by the people; so it is stated by some authors; at the same time it appears, as far as I can discover, that the Biscayans almost invariably elected the son of the late lord.—*Garibay*, lib. xii.; *Navar*, cap. 13; *Henao*, lib. iii.

The author of the *Escudo*, speaking of Don Juan the First, observes, "That he proceeded in person to Biscay, and took the oaths in the church of Santa Maria, of Guernica, and promised, for himself and his descendants, that he would maintain their fueros, usages, customs, franchises, and liberties. In the same form, and with the same stipulation as to their liberties, he united, at a subsequent time, the lordship to the royal crown of Castile, to be separated no more."

Lope Garcia states, "He (Don Juan) annexed or appropriated (apropiò) Biscay to the royal crown, binding himself in the church of Santa Maria and in Santa Eufemia to maintain their usages, customs, franchises, and liberties," and afterwards states that it was made a matter of solemn compact that Biscay should never more be separated from his crown.—lib. xxi.

Garibay observes, that from the time of the Union, the Lordship of Biscay remained for ever incorporated with the crown. (*Dende este año en adelante quedó perpetuamente incorporado en la Corona*, lib. xix.)

"Upon which Bilbao and other towns protested."

p. 233.

The people of Bilbao seem to have protested against Don Juan's order for the erection of the town of Miraflores, in virtue of their fuero, *Ley* viii. tit. 1. "Que

havian fuero, uso y costumbre, que por quanto todos los montes, usos y Exidos son de los Hijos-Dalgo y Pueblos de Bizcaya y villa ninguna non se puede hacer." The order does not, however, under the circumstances of the case, appear to have been considered any infraction of the Biscayan privileges.

"And then, leaving the city, the King (Henry the Third) travelled onwards till he reached a spot called, in the Basque language, Arechabalaga." p. 236.

Mariana, Henao, and other writers allude to this journey, and communicate different points of detail. Garibay gives the longest account:—

Garibay, dict. lib. xv. cap. 40, ibi. "Fuesse al Campo de Arechabalaga. En aquel sitio juntandose toda Vizcaya en cuadrillas, Vandos, y Hermandades, pidieron al Rey, que les Jurassee sus fueros, y privilegios, y respondiendo que le placia . . . fue el Rey D. Enrique recibido por Señor de Vizcaya, y le besaron las manos; y passando con él á la Iglesia de la Villa de Larravezua, segun la costumbre antigua de los Señores de Vizcaya, juró en el altar los fueros. Despues de comer fue el Rey á la villa de Guernica en el dia siguiente ido á la villa de Bermeo, juró en la Iglesia de Santa Eufemia los privilegios de aquella Villa, y su Tierra. Prosigue diciendo, que buelto á Guernica hubo alli grandes diferencias, los unos pidiendo el *repto*, y los otros

"He went to the field of Arechabalaga. There the whole of Biscay assembled in cuadrillas, in bands, and in hermandades, and asked the King to swear to observe their fueros and privileges, and on his answering that it was his will so to do, King Henry was received as Lord of Biscay, and they kissed his hands; and proceeding together to the church of the town of Larravezua, as the ancient Lords of Biscay had done, he swore on the altar to maintain their fueros. After dinner, the King went to the town of Guernica. . . On the following day he went to the town of Bermeo, and there he swore, in the Church of Santa Euphemia, to maintain the privileges of that town and its hamlets. Having returned to Guernica, great trouble arose, some asking the *repto* and others

contradiciendo, y á lo ultimo, porque la mayor parte pedia, se introdució en Vizcaya el *riepto* en este año, en el qual les concedió el Rey Don Enrique, estando assentado só el Arbol, y Lugar acostumbrado de Guernica."—El Padre Mariana, lib. xix., cap. 1.; El Padre Henao, lib. i., cap 61, con Pedro Barrantes, en la Chronica de este Rey.

opposing it; but as the greatest number were for it, the *riepto** was finally introduced in Biscay in this year, with the sanction of the King Don Henrique, while sitting under the tree, and in the usual place, at Guernica."

The calamities of the time, the lawless acts of the feudal chiefs, and the excesses of the numerous bands that overran the country, induced the inhabitants of the towns and cities to unite and form associations for the protection of life and property. These institutions, known as the *Hermandades*, or *Brotherhoods*, were celebrated for the efficiency of their organization. The captains were gentlemen of high character; the lieutenants were the richest inhabitants, and the soldiers the most approved citizens of the towns. They had power to punish robbers by the most summary process, and to pursue offenders beyond the limits of the province. Any citizen, who refused to become a member of the fraternity, when invited, was placed beyond the pale of their protection. These *Hermandades* were confirmed by the

* The word *riepto* puzzled me extremely, and for some time I could not discover its exact import from any Spaniard; it was, however, explained to me by Señor José de Alcalá, of King's College, London; a gentleman who combines the most profound attainments with the highest honour and integrity, to whose information I am indebted on many historical points, and whose acquaintance I have experienced much gratification in making. *Riepto*, and sometimes *repto*, was the old orthography for the word now written *reto*, from the word *retar*, which means to accuse a noble of an infamous action in the presence of the King, calling upon him to make a full confession before the Sovereign, or to meet his challenger in mortal combat, when, how, and where the King might please to direct.

King, and were at one period much renowned for their courage and activity.

Extract from a clause of a royal Cedula, issued by Henry the Third:—"Bien sabedes como el dicho mi Señorío de Biscaya es apartado sobre si en sus fueros e libertades," &c.

"The Queen-Regent took the following oath on the 14th of July, 1407." p. 241.

"Juramento de la Señora Reyna Madre: Primeramente la dicha Señora Reyna Madre del dicho Señor Rey, assi como su Tutora, é Regidora de sus Reynos Juró en la Cruz é Santos Evangelios, tañendo corporalmente con sus manos, de guardar a Vizcaya, Villas, é Tierra-llana, é á los Fijos-Dalgo, é á todos los Vecinos é Moradores de ella sus Fueros, é buenos usos, é buenas costumbres, é privilegios, é Quadernos, Ordenanzas, Franquezas, Libertades, Gracias, é Mercedes, é Tierras, segun que mejor, é mas cumplidamente les fue guardado en tiempo de Doña Constanza, é de los otros Reyes, é Señores, que despues fasta aquí han sido de Vizcaya. E ella en nombre del dicho Señor Rey, assi como su Tutora, assi se lo confirmaba, é confirmó. Y prosigue, Jurando todo lo demas, que los Vizcaynos havian pedido por su carta, exceptuando solamente, que en todo acontecimiento se pagassen los derechos de las Ferrerías; y dá la razon, *ibi*. Ca estos se pagaron siempre, y se deben pagar, assi en un tiempo como en otro."

"King Henry pledged his faith to maintain to Biscay all its fueros and privileges." p. 243.

"El P. Henao en el cap. lxi. del lib. 1, num. 6:— Pero porque ellos viessen, que su intencion, é voluntad, era, é es de les guardar los dichos sus Privilegios, Fueros, usos, é costumbres . . . que juraba, é juró, prometia, é prometió por su fec Real, como Rey, é Señor de guardar, é mandar guardar á las

"Father Henao, in chap. 61 of the 1st book, num. 6:— But in order to show to them that his intention and will has been, and still is, to preserve to them their said privileges, fueros, usages, and customs, he swore and did swear, and promised and did promise, by his royal word, as King and as Lord,

dichas Villas, é Lugares, é Tierra-llana de el dicho Condado, é Señorío de Vizcaya, é á todos los Cavalleros, é Escuderos, é Fijos-Dalgo de ella todos sus Privilegios, é Fueros, é usos buenos, é buenas costumbres, é el Fuero, é Quaderno, por donde se rigen, é gobiernan, é deben ser regidos, é gobernados, é sus Libertades, é Mercedes é Tierras, é la libranza de ellas. Item, que su Señoría, cessante otras arduas necessidades, lo mas presto que podrá, irá personalmente á la dicha Tierra, é Condado de Vizcaya, é les fará su Jura acostumbrada en aquellos Lugares, que se debe facer."

to keep and to order to be maintained to the said towns, villages, and low-lands of the county and lordship of Biscay, and to all the Knights, Shieldbearers, and Fijos-Dalgos of the same, all their privileges and fueros, and good customs, and the written ordinances by which they are governed and ought to be governed, and their liberties, grants, lands, and the free use of the same. Also, that his Lordship, as soon as other pressing affairs permit, will repair in person to the said land and county of Biscay, and will take the usual oath in those places where it ought to be taken."

"And actually, in 1457, King Henry went to Biscay, and took the usual oaths." p. 243.

"Cedula del Juramento del Señor D. Enrique Quarto, en Santa Maria la Antigua, cerca de la Villa de Guernica á 10 de Marzo año 1457:—Estando ende presente el muy alto, é muy poderoso Señor el Rey D. Enrique, Rey de Castilla, é de Leon . . . Dixerón al dicho Señor Rey, que por quanto es de Fuero, é uso, é costumbre, quando viene Señor nuevamente en Vizcaya recibir el Señorío de ella, el tal Señor les ha de facer Juramento . . . el dicho Señor Rey dixo, que él era alli venido á facer el dicho Juramento, é que le placia de

"Formula of the oath taken by Don Henrique IV. in the church of Santa Maria la Antigua, near the town of Guernica, on the 10th of March, 1457:—'The high and powerful Lord Don Henrique, King of Castile and Leon, there present . . . They said to his highness, that according to the fueros, usages, and customs, when a new Lord comes to Biscay to receive the Lordship thereof, such a Lord has an oath to take . . . The said Lord the King said, that he was come there to take the said oath, and that it was his pleasure so to do; and

lo facer : é luego dixo, que juraba é juró á Dios, é á Santa Maria, é á las palabras de los Santos Evangelios, dó quier que estaban é á la señal de la Cruz que con su mano derecha corporalmente tañió, la qual fue tomada del altar Mayor de la dicha Iglesia, con un Crucifixo en ella, de guardar á todos los dichos Cavalleros, Escuderos, Fijos-Dalgo, é Labradores, é otras Personas de qualquier estado, calidad, é condicion que sean del Señorío de Vizcaya sus Fueros, é Privilejos, buenos usos, é buenas costumbres, é Franquezas, é Libertades, é Mercedés, é Tierras, e officios, assi, é segun que mejor, é mas cumplidamente les fueron guardados, en tiempo del Señor D. Juan de Gloriosa memoria, su Padre, y de los otros Reyes, y Señores que fasta aqui fueron, é ovieron en Vizcaya," &c.

then he said, that he swore and did swear before God, and before the Holy St. Mary, and by the words of the Holy Gospels, wherever they might be, and by the sign of the Cross, which he touched bodily with his own right hand, (that Cross which was brought from the high altar of the said church, with a crucifix on it,) to maintain to all the said Knights, Shield-bearers, Fijos-Dalgos, farmers, and labourers, and all other persons of whatsoever state, quality, or condition they might be in the Lordship of Biscay, their fueros and privileges, good usages and customs, franchises and liberties, grants, lands, and official appointments, as well and as fully as the same was preserved to them in the time of the King Don Juan of blessed memory, his father, and of the other Kings and Lords of Biscay, till the present time," &c.

" *When the Biscayans were alarmed by a rumour that he had granted certain lands in Biscay to some Castilians, he issued a manifesto, in which he assured the Biscayans he had not granted the lands in question.*" p. 243.

" Fue despachada esta Real Cedula en Segovia á 19. de Julio año 1470 :— Sepades, que yo estoy informado que algunas personas han dicho, é divulgado, que yo he dado, é fecho Merced de esse dicho mi

" This royal order was signed at Segovia on the 19th of July, 1470 :— Know, &c., that I am informed some persons have said and announced that I have given as gifts to some gentlemen, and persons, some towns,

condado, e Tierra-llana, y Encartaciones, y de algunas Villas, y Lugares, y Tierras de él á algunos Cavalleros, y personas; y que lo he apartado, ó dividido, ó quiero apartar, ó dividir de mi Corona Real: de que vosotros podíades recibir alguna alteracion; y porque yo non dí, ni he hecho merced de esse dicho mi Condado . . . ni tal por pensamiento me passó; antes porque esse dicho mi Condado es una de las mas nobles Provincias de mis Reynos; é uno de los mis Titulos, y por ser por si tan noble, é Frontera con los Reynos Comarcanos . . . siempre ha sido, y es mi voluntad, que esse dicho mi Condado, sea, é permanezca todavia en la dicha mi Coronel Real, é que no se pueda dividir, ni apartar de ella. Por ende, porque vosotros mas ciertos, y seguros de ello, é hayais entendido ser assi cumplidero á mi Servicio, y á honor de la dicha mi Corona Real mi, merced es de mandar é ordenar, y por la presente ordeno é mando," &c.

villages, and lands of this my country, my low-lands and privileged places, and that I have separated and divided, or intend to separate and divide the same, from my royal crown, by which you may receive detriment; and as I have not given or made any grant of this my county, nor even thought of so doing; as on the contrary, considering that my county is one of the noblest provinces of my kingdoms, and one of my titles of honour, and as it is so noble in itself and borders upon foreign kingdoms . . . it has always been, and it is my will, that my said county be, and continue to belong to my said Royal Crown, and that it be not divided nor separated from it. In order, therefore, that you may be sure and convinced of it, and that you may know it is essential to my service, and to the honour of my said Royal Crown, it is my pleasure to order and command, as hereby I command and order," &c.

"Oath taken by the Princess Isabella." p. 249:

"Yo, como Princesa y Señora de las dichas Villas y Tierra llana del dicho Condado e Señorío de Biscaya, con las Encartaciones y sus adherencias hago pleyto omenage una, dos, e tres veces, una, dos, e tres veces, una, dos, e tres veces, segun Fuero e costumbre de España en manos de Gomez Manrique, Cavallero e Home e Hijo Dalgo, que de mi lo recibe; e juro á nuestro Señor Dios y á la Virgen Santa Maria, su Madre y a esta señal de la Cruz +, que corporalmente tango con mi mano derecha, e por las palabras de los Santos Evangelios, donde quiera que estan, de

haver por ratos, gratos, firmes y valederos, para agora y en todo tiempo los dichos Privilegios generales, y especiales, Fueros, usos, y costumbres, franquezas, e libertades de las dichas Villas y Tierra llana del dicho Condado y Señorío de Bizcaya, con las Encartaciones. Clausula del pleyto omenage y Juramento."

The translation of this remarkable oath is given in the text, p. 249.

"*King Ferdinand swore to maintain their privileges.*"
p. 250.

"La forma del Juramento fol. 294. Y luego dixo, que juraba, y juró á Dios, y á Santa Maria, y á las palabras de los Santos Evangelios (donde quiera que estan) y á la señal de la Cruz + que con su mano derecha tañó en una Cruz que fue tomada del Altar Mayor de la dicha Iglesia con un crucifixo en ella, que S.A. jurava, y confirmava, y juró, y confirmó sus Fueros, y Quadernos, y buenos usos, y buenas costumbres, y Privilegios, y Franquezas, y Libertades, y Mercedes, y Lanzas, y Tier-
ras, y Oficios, y Monasterios, que los Cavalleros, Escuderos, Hijos-Dalgo, Labradores, y otras personas, de qualquier estado y condicion que sean, de las Villas, y Tierra-llana, y Ciudad de Orduña de este Condado de Vizcaya, y Encartaciones, y Durangueses, segun que mejor les fue guardado en tiempo de los otros Reyes, y Señores, que han sido en el dicho Condado.

"The formula of the oath was as follows (fol. 294): And then he said, that he did swear, and swore before God and the Holy St. Mary, and by the words of the Holy Gospels, wherever they may be, and by the sign of the Cross +, (here he touched with his right hand a Cross with a Crucifix, which had been brought from the high altar of the said church,) that he did swear and did confirm, and swore to preserve and confirmed their fueros, their written laws, good usages and customs, their privileges, franchises, and liberties, their grants and lanzas, and lands, their official appointments, and monasteries, to the Knights, the Shieldbearers, Fijos-Dalgo, husbandmen, and other persons, of whatsoever condition they may be, of the towns, of the low lands, and city of Orduña, of this county of Biscay, and of Durango, and of the privileged places, as well and as fully as they had been preserved to them in the time of the other Kings and Lords of the said county.

"Clansula de nuevo Juramento preservativo de la Inmunidad, y Libertad del Fuero, fol. 204:—Y otrosí dixo, que juraba y juró, que por quanto despues que S. A. Reyna, veyendo sus necesidades, y la Guerra injusta que los Reyes de Francia y Portugal, contra su Real Persona, y sus Reynos han movido; los Cavalleros, Escuderos, y Hijos-Dalgo, y Dueñas, y Doncellas, y Labradores, y cada uno en su estado de los Vecinos, y Moradores de este condado, y Encartaciones, y Durangueses, con gran amor, y lealtad le havian, y han servido y seguido, é sirven, é siguen, é poniendo sus personas, y caudales, é haciendas á todo riesgo, y peligro, como buenos, y leales, y señalados Vassallos, y con aquella obediencia, é fidelidad, é lealtad, que le son tenidos, e obligados, y aun de mas, é allende de lo que sus Fueros, é Privilegios les obligaban, y apremiaban; y por tanto, que juraba, y juró, é declaró que por los tales tan grandes, é tan altos, é señalados servicios, que ansi sí le han hecho, y hacen de cada un día, ó le querrán hacer de aqui adelante, ansi por mar, como por Tierra . . no sean vistos ni se entiendan, ni se puedan entender, ni interpretar, que han quebrantado, ni ido, ni venido contra los dichos Fueros, é Privilegios, é usos, é cos-

"Formula of a new oath for the preservation of the immunity and liberty of the fuero, fol. 294:—Moreover she said and swore that inasmuch as her Highness the Queen, seeing that during the time of her difficulties and the unjust war carried on by the Kings of France and of Portugal against her royal person and her kingdoms, the Knights, Shieldbearers, Fijos-Dalgos, Dames and Damsels, and husbandmen, and all in their several stations, of the families and inhabitants of this county, of the privileged towns and of Durango, have served and followed her with great love and loyalty, and do still serve and follow her, exposing their persons and possessions to great risk and peril, like good, loyal, and distinguished vassals, not only with that obedience, fidelity, and loyalty to which they are bound, but with a zeal beyond what their fueros and privileges prescribe and call upon them to show; she, therefore, swore and declared, that with respect to those great, and high, and distinguished services which they have performed, and are still performing every day, and those which they may yet achieve by sea and by land . . . it shall not be looked upon, nor understood, nor considered, or in any way interpreted, that they have infringed upon their rights,

tumbres, é Franquezas, é Libertades S. A. no se llamará á possession, ni les mandará, ni apremiará en ningun tiempo, ni por alguna manera, que le hagan los dichos servicios y por tanto, que todos los dichos sus Fueros, y buenos usos, é costumbres, é Libertades, que S. A. les havia, é ha Jurado, y confirmado, les finquen, y queden firmes, y en su fuerza, é vigor para en adelante."

nor exceeded or acted against the said fueros and privileges, usages and customs, franchises and liberties . . . Her Highness will not consider such services as due to her at any time, nor will compel them at any period in any way to perform them. . . . And, therefore, that all those fueros, and good usages and customs, and liberties, which her Highness has sworn to preserve and has confirmed, shall continue and remain firm, and in full force and vigour for the time to come."

Zurita states, that "In the month of September, 1473, the Corregidor and the Alcaldes, and the Prestamero, and the Lords of the Justice, and the Cavalleros, and the Hidalgos of the county and lordship of Biscay, and the places adhering to the same, assembled in the town of Bilbao; and the King of Sicily sent a cavalier of his house, bearing the name of Alonzo de Mesa, to stimulate and inspire them to remain true to the cause of him, their lord, and the Princess, and to offer them every kind of favour and assistance, because the Constable was waging against them a cruel war, and they were sorely persecuted, because they had transferred their allegiance to the Princes (Ferdinand and Isabella) against the mandate and will of the King, Don Henry."—Cap. 61, lib. xviii. It appears, however, that, confiding in their own resources, and determined to achieve their own liberation, they declined even the assistance of their own chosen Lord. The result of the struggle showed that these brave Biscayans had formed no erroneous estimate of their strength; and one of their writers, alluding to this contest, and to other circumstances

connected with their history, observes, with becoming pride, that the lordship of Biscay has been always so valiantly defended by its own inhabitants, and at their own expense, that no enemy of the Spanish crown ever obtained, by force, a footing on that soil.

Zurita observes, with respect to this war, "Y con cinco quentos, que el Rey mandó dar al Conde de Haro, para que les hiciese guerra, juntó mucha gente suya, y los otros Grandes, y entró por el Condado haciendo mucho daño; aunque se le resistió por los Biscaynos muy animosamente."—Cap. 61.

Garibay also states, "Sabido por el Conde de Haro, la buelta de Pedro de Avendaño, y Juan Alonzo de Muxica á sus casas juntando apriesa sus gentes y las del Conde de Salinas, y Don Luis, y Don Sancho de Velasco sus hermanos, y de otros valedores, entró con mucha Cavalleria en Biscaya. Lo mismo hicieron el Conde de Treviño y el Adelantado dieron batalla en Abril 27, dia Sabado al Conde de Haro, cerca de la villa de Munguia en un passo; donde el Conde fue vencido por la Infanteria Biscayana habiendo peleado ambas partes varonilmente. Fueron presos el Conde de Salinas y Don Luis de Velasco," &c. Mariana, Henao, and Navarro, confirm this statement.

"The King, our Lord, went into the Church."

p. 250.

We are told that the Lord Don Ferdinand presided over the General Junta, held on that day, under the celebrated tree. There, according to the Cedula Real, "The oath was taken by the most lofty, the most resplendent, and the most powerful Don Ferdinand, King of Castile, Leon, Sicily, and Portugal, and First Born of Aragon."

"Isabella confirmed their rights not once but repeatedly." p. 251.

Queen Isabella swore to maintain the liberties of Biscay, at Bilbao, on the 5th of September, 1483; on the 8th of the same month at Portugalette; on the 16th, at the church of San Emetrio; on the 17th, beneath the famous tree of Guernica; on the 19th, at Durango.

The wisdom of the policy pursued towards the Basques by the Kings of Castile, became very conspicuous in the time of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. When, in the commencement of his reign, Valladolid, Segovia, Toledo, and almost all the large towns of the kingdom, had openly joined the popular league, and the armies of the Commons were making head against his authority, the Basques, guaranteed in the undisturbed possession of their ancient laws and liberties, were publicly thanked by that sovereign, not only for the peace and order preserved in their country, but for the faith and loyalty of their conduct during that trying conjuncture. If Charles the Fifth, at his accession to the throne of Spain, had encroached upon the liberties of the Basques, they would most unquestionably have joined the popular league, and the issue of that great struggle might have been wholly different; so true it is that in public as in private life, the most upright is generally the safest policy.

Strictly speaking, every King of Spain is bound to repair, in person, to Guernica, on his accession to the throne, and swear, under the tree, to preserve their privileges. The Basques, contented with the substance, have, in late years, dispensed with the form: the form, however, has not been annulled, or even disputed, but has been only evaded; and when the Biscayan privileges are confirmed by the Spanish sovereigns at Madrid,

the royal journey to the Basque States is announced, but invariably postponed, on the plea of pressing business, to a day that never arrives.

Having often alluded to the celebrated tree of Guernica, I must observe that it partakes of the immortality of the crown: a younger scion of the parent stock is always growing near the parent tree, and ultimately replaces its predecessor in the national affection.

"Ley i. tit. 1:—Haya de venir en persona a Vizcaya, y hacerles sus juramentos, y prometimientos, y confirmarles sus privilegios, y usos y costumbres, franquenzas, y libertades, y fueros."

"De tal suerte cohartaron la potestad legislativa, que dixerón, que havian de fuero, y ley, y franqueza, y libertad, que qualquier carta, ó provision Real, que el dicho Señor de Vizcaya diere, ó mandare dar, ó proveer, que sea, ó ser pueda contra las leyes, y fueros de Vizcaya, directe, ó indirecte, que sea obedecida, y no cumplida."—Ley ii. Titulo Primero del Fuero.

"Y si despues que assi fuere requerido en un año, cumplido, no viniere á hacer la dicha confirmacion, y juramentos, que los dichos Vizcaynos, assi de la tierra llana de Vizcaya, como de las villas, y encartaciones, y Durangueses, no le respondan, ni acudan al dicho Señor, ni á su thesorero, ni recaudador con los derechos,

"Law i. tit. 1:—He shall come in person to Biscay, to take the oaths, to promise, and to confirm to them their privileges and usages, and customs, franchises, liberties, and fueros."

"They enjoyed it by fuero, and by law, and by franchise and liberty, as a right established, that any decree or Royal order, given by the said Lord of Biscay, or in his name, which would be or might be contrary to the laws and fueros of Biscay, directly or indirectly, should be obeyed but not put in execution."

"If, being required by the Biscayans to do so, the Lord will not come within one year to take the oath and confirm their privileges as above stated, the said Biscayans, both those of the lowlands of Biscay, and those of Durango, and the privileged towns, shall not give nor send to him, nor to his treasurer, nor to the collector,

y censos, que tiene sobre las villas, y otras caserías censuales de Vizcaya; y que si su Señoría ambiare mandamientos, ó provisiones en el entretanto, sean obedecidas, y no cumplidas."—La ley i. del Título.

"La Ley xix. tit. 1, del fuero:—Otrosidixerón, que havian de franqueza, y libertad por merced de sus Altezas, y sus progenitores, que por quanto los dichos Vizcaynos tenían su Juez Mayor de Vizcaya, que reside en su corte, y Chancillería de Valladolid, que conoce de todas sus causas, en civil, y Crimen, que ningún Vizcayno de Vizcaya, tierra llana, villas, y Ciudad de ella, y de encartaciones, ni Duranguenses por delito alguno, vel quasi, ni por deuda alguna, no pueda ser convenido hallándose fuera de Vizcaya, por los Alcaldes del Crimen, ni por Otro Juez alguno de sus Altezas, ni de estos Reynos, y Señorías, ni Juzgado por ellos, salvo por el dicho su Juez Mayor de Vizcaya, aunque los tales delitos, y deudas sean hechos, y contraídos fuera de Vizcaya en Castilla, en qualquier parte de ella; y que en caso que sean convenidos, ó detenidos, luego sean remitidos para ante el dicho su Juez Mayor, siendo pedida la dicha remission y demandada la jurisdiccion."

the rents and contributions payable to him by the towns and those houses in Biscay subject to pay the same. And if the said Lord send, during that time, any order or decree, it shall be obeyed, but not carried into execution."

"In the law xix., tit. 1, of the fuero, it is written thus:—Moreover, they said they had a franchise and liberty granted to them by his Highness, and his ancestors, to this effect,—That inasmuch as the said Biscayans have their Chief-Justice residing in the court and chancery of Valladolid, to try all their causes, both civil and criminal, no inhabitant of Biscay, or of the low-lands, or of any city of that county, or of any of the privileged places, or of Durango, shall even, while out of Biscay, be tried for any crime or debt by the civil or criminal, or by any other Judge, in the kingdom and lordships of their Highnesses, nor shall be sentenced by them, except only by the Chief-Justice of Biscay, although those crimes and debts may be committed or contracted out of Biscay and in any part of Castile. And should any Biscayan be sued or arrested, he shall be sent before the said Chief-Justice, as soon as he has required his dismissal and declined any other jurisdiction."

Navarre is not a Basque province, and has had no connexion with those states since the ninth century; at which time, the Guipuzcoans are said to have entered into an act of federation with Don Garcia Ximenes, the first king of Navarre, stipulating, however, that they should be free at all times to enter into an alliance with any other power, or place themselves under the protection of any other state. Navarre was united to Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella; and I will give a short account of the system by which they were governed after the Union. Their laws and liberties were not affected by that event, and were fully recognized by the monarch who governed Spain at that time, and by his successors.

The Cortes of Navarre are composed of three states—the Church, the Nobles, and the Commons, known in the province by the name of the Universities. In conformity with the law of their fuero, the Cortes met every two years, in virtue of a summons issued by the Viceroy of Navarre. Their powers were very extensive. When assembled in Congress, they agreed upon the exact sum to be granted to the King of Spain, during the two following years. With respect to their legislative functions, they possessed the initiative, a most important privilege of which the crown was deprived, and were able to suspend, indefinitely, the promulgation of acts passed by their own assembly, and sanctioned by the King or his Viceroy. The Cortes availed themselves of this power, upon extraordinary occasions only, but it was enforced in the year 1817. Any measure resolved on by the states, and sanctioned by the Viceroy, acquires the force of law, without any further or more direct confirmation on the part of the crown.

The Viceroy presides over the Cortes, and at the opening of the session takes the oath prescribed by law; the

same oath was taken, in the year 1500, by the Duque d'Albuquerque, then Viceroy of Navarre, and has been adopted by his successors without the slightest change of expression.

"I, Viceroy of the Kingdom in the name of his Majesty, swear by the sign of the Cross, and upon the Holy Gospels, to you the Prelates, Marquesses, Knights, to you the Men of the cities and towns, and to all the Inhabitants of Navarre, to those who are present, and those who are absent, to maintain all your fueros, laws, usages, statutes, customs, franchises, exemptions, liberties, and immunities which each man possesses, without need of a new confirmation from his Majesty, either special or general; and that all the laws shall be interpreted in your favour, and to your honour, and to that of the kingdom of Navarre."—*Amendariz, Leyes del Reyno de Navarra.*

The Viceroy of Navarre is the military and civil chief of the province. There is a supreme tribunal for civil and criminal causes, and another court of a financial character, composed of a judge, as president, three ministers, a treasurer, and an officer appointed exclusively for the purpose of maintaining the boundaries of Navarre, and taking care that the contributions be levied within, but not extended beyond, the limits of the province. This court regulates the contributions, superintends their collection, and takes into consideration the orders of the Viceroy, with reference to the distribution of the money.

The administration of justice in the towns is vested in the Alcaldes, who are freely chosen by the people. Their jurisdiction is, however, as might be supposed, somewhat limited, except in those towns where the Alcaldes are lawyers, or have assessors. An appeal lies to the supreme court of Navarre, not to any court in Spain;

every cause must be decided in Navarre. In short, this province has been so admirably governed by its own peculiar laws and permanent tribunals, and the people have been so completely satisfied with their own internal administration, that the Cortes have gradually ceased to assemble regularly, and, of late years, have only met on great occasions. The Queen Regent ascends the throne; the prospect is overshadowed; the rights of Navarre are invaded; the loyalty of a contented people is exchanged for a determined spirit of resistance; and the province is convulsed with civil war from one extremity to the other.

Catalonia possesses, in some respects, her own peculiar jurisprudence, and some favourite privileges with respect to the selection of the men sent by the province to serve in the royal army;—but I must not enter at greater length upon this or any other subject; for while the Printer prints, the Author writes; and these volumes, continually augmenting in size, will become too lengthy for any reader to wade through, and too unwieldy to issue from any press.

“ I must refer my readers to a note.” p. 358.

This decree abolishes absolutely all descriptions of entails; nor is it only limited to landed property, but embraces every kind of life interest in any thing heritable. Tenants for life for real property, are permitted, under its provisions, to dispose of half their land, and their successors will, on their demise, be entitled to exercise a similar power over the remainder. No property, in any shape, neither land, nor money in foreign banks, or shares in commercial undertakings, can be settled in any way, for the benefit of any establishment, religious or secular, and no inalienable rights of property of any kind can hereafter be created. By this decree the aris-

toeracy of Spain is virtually destroyed. The reader will not forget the decrees which have just appeared, sequestrating the property of individuals who, trembling for their existence, have been compelled to emigrate from the kingdom. This decree consigns to poverty not only the adherents of Don Carlos, but almost every man who has taken an active part in public life during the last three years; and, by a monstrous provision, annuls all sales and purchases made since a certain day in 1833, if the seller has, since that period, taken part with the insurgents. The same penalties are denounced against all who have, in any way, "directly or indirectly, or by any secret mission," promoted the cause of Don Carlos. Here is an admirable specimen of the efficacious mode by which a revolutionary Government attains its end in Spain, puts money into the vacant exchequer, gratifies party resentments, and punishes, without going through the doubtful and inconvenient process of adducing evidence, and establishing accusation by proof! Yet these decrees have been issued under the influence of M. Mendizabel—the adopted child of Great Britain. Are we prepared to follow the Spanish revolution through all its phases, and to support it in all its excesses? In what a difficult position is this country placed! To what a wretched state have we assisted in reducing Spain! But we have sown abundantly, and we shall reap, no doubt, an ample harvest.

Since the last lines were printed some days have elapsed; Gomez has pursued his resistless march into the heart of Andalusia; Cordova has fallen beneath his conquering arms, and the Government is deprived of all the financial resources accruing from that opulent part of the kingdom. It is perfectly clear, that even if a numerical majority of persons in some of the cities of

Andalusia are favourably disposed towards the Queen, they are not prepared to support their opinions by the sword. The energy of the kingdom, as I have previously said, is to be found in the northern districts. Lord Palmerston is a man of unblemished honour, and unquestionable abilities; and it is much to be regretted that he should, in any degree, have allied this country to a party that has neither the inclination to act with honesty, nor even the courage to support its acts of injustice. •

Note to p. 96.

EXTRACTS FROM THE "LITERARY GAZETTE," SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1831.

"WE will not argue the question, or animadvert upon the absurd lengths to which the apostles of phrenology, as a science, carry their dogmata; but we will at once go to the fourth paper, that which has provoked our indignation, and ask if the detail of such abominable cruelties, under the name of experiments, instead of procuring allies to the cause of phrenology, is not sufficient to revolt human nature against it and its atrocious professors? The paper is entitled 'Bouillaud's Experiments to discover the Functions of the Brain, concluded;' and so cold-blooded a narrative of barbarities, perpetrated on a worthless plea, it never has been our painful duty to peruse.

"We declare before Heaven that we think the barbarian who could, during a whole week, thus inflict unendurable torments upon an animal, and calmly count its writhings and agonies, deserves to be put out of the pale of society as a monster. Hamlet says, 'Hang up

philosophy ;' we say, ' Hang up philosophers who dare commit such outrages as these.' The next trial was equally horrid, and prolonged during sixteen days. We quote on, marking in italics, some of the most obnoxious points of heartless cruelty it was ever our misfortune to read :—

" ' On the morning of the 28th of June, *I transfixed the anterior part of the brain of a young dog, which possessed the reputation of being lively, docile, and intelligent* : the instrument, in making its way from the right to the left side, inclined slightly in an oblique direction upwards and backwards.

" ' *When menaced, it crouches as if to implore mercy, but does not in consequence obey.* It, on the contrary, utters cries, which nothing can repress, similar to those of a young uneducated dog, whose intellect is undeveloped. It eats with great voracity, and is in good health. I watched it attentively for the remainder of this and for the first fifteen days of the succeeding month. It enjoyed the perfect use of its external senses. By a kind of instinct of imitation, it walked when it saw any one else walk, following the individual wherever he went. Its want of docility was remarkable: when called it did not come, but lay down and wagged its tail with an air of stupidity. When we tried to lead it, it resisted, rolled upon the ground, and cried, but at last walked, again stopped, drew back, and cried anew. *When confined, it cries continually, in spite of all correction.* It appeared astonished at every thing ; and its air of stupidity was remarked by all those who were not aware of the operation which had been performed, and strangers to physiological observations. It was easily alarmed ; and when menaces were succeeded by blows, in place of flying or acting so as to avoid them, it merely lay down in a supplicating posture and

cried. *It did not caress us on our return, although absent for many days*.*

“ ‘ *All its docility consisted in coming when after caressing it we called upon it in a tone of kindness ; or, if we had menaced, beat, or called upon it in vain, in going away, holding down its head and tail, and in crouching down as if in the act of supplication. Its eyes became animated, its ears were erected on the slightest noise, but it still preserved a look of imbecility. It was sacrificed, August 15th, in the performance of a new experiment.* ’ ”

I will add nothing in addition to these admirable comments ; but will only appeal to the public of Great Britain, and especially to that valuable portion of it, the clergy of the country, whether it can be right to slumber any longer over practices so corrupting to the young mind, so destructive of every virtuous feeling, utterly abhorrent to a God of mercy. Are not they, and all who humbly strive to hold the “ bond of peace,” bound by every tie of duty to their Maker, and their fellow men, to spare no exertions in rooting out these demoralizing offences from the land ? I appeal to the members of the medical profession, for whom no man has a higher respect, whether, as Christians, and even as Gentlemen, it has not become incumbent upon them to deny all participation in these and similar atrocities ; to banish such offenders from the pale of their society ; and to rescue an honourable profession from the stigma which such iniquities, if disavowed, must fix upon it ?

* “ So that the unfortunate animal on which these sixteen days of torture were inflicted appears to have been previously attached to the authors of these atrocious experiments, and in the habit of lavishing caresses upon them !!

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